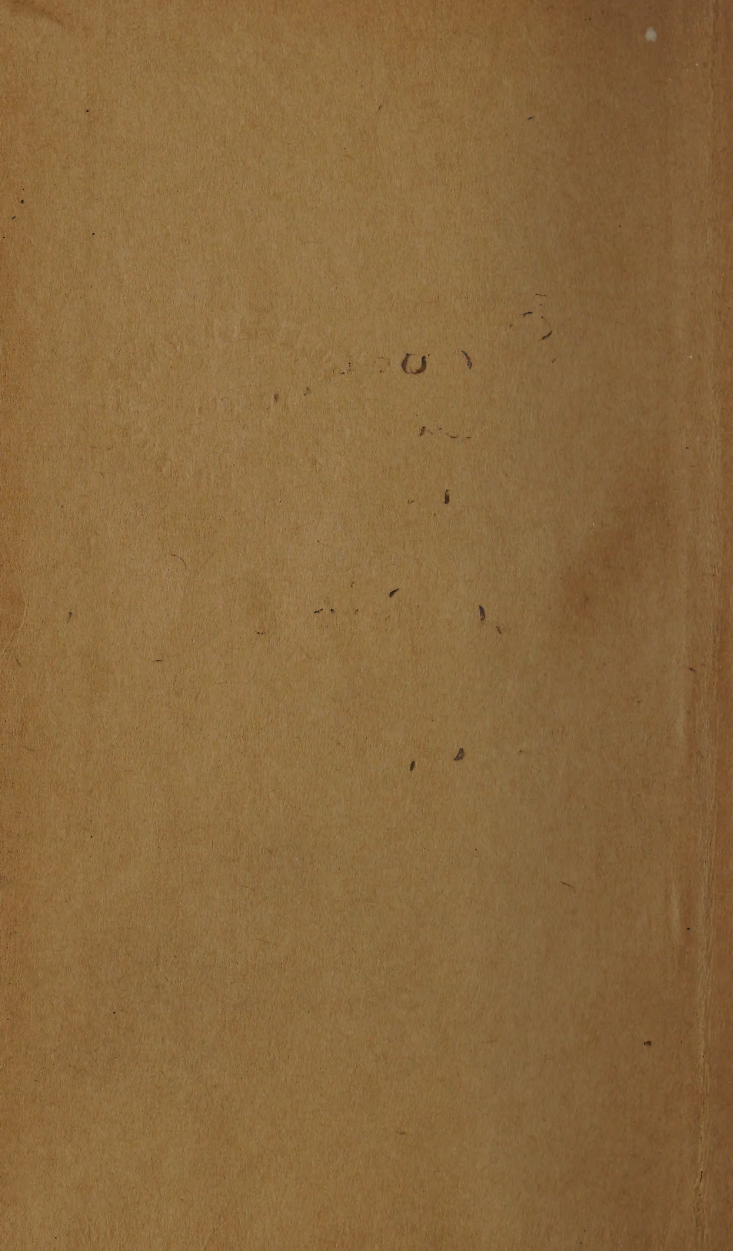


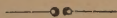
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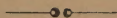
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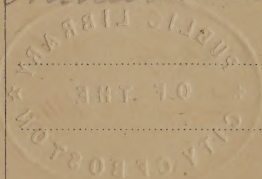
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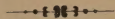
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SLAVERY.

ITS



ORIGIN, INFLUENCE, AND DESTINY.

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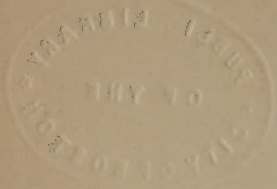
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SLAVERY.

THERE are none who deny that slavery, in some way, and in some sense, is the principal cause of our civil war. For they who—abroad or at home—allege that it is caused by the actual and profound diversity between the two sections of the country as to their interests, their habits, and their character, do not deny that this diversity springs mainly from the existence of slavery in one only of the parties. And they who account for it by the angry and persistent vehemence of abolitionism, will not deny that if there were no slavery to be abolished there could be no abolitionism. It is not however worth while to use many words in proving a fact, which the map of our country demonstrates.

But if it be certain that slavery in some way is the central cause of the civil war, it is by no means certain how, or why, this cause has produced this effect. If I offer for consideration the views I hold on this subject, it is because in this country public opinion is a sovereign power, and the humblest effort to introduce into this opinion what seems to the offerer an element of truth, may at least be pardoned.

What then is Slavery? Its foundation is the power of controlling any man without his consent and concurrence. The absolute ownership by one man of another man as it exists at the South, is only the perfection and consummation of this principle. There are cases where immaturity demands guidance, or crime deserves punishment. Putting these cases aside, wherever this principle exists and operates, and in whatever degree it exists, there is that which may be called the essence of Slavery. We are accustomed to confine the name to absolute ownership. Nor do I insist that the use of the

word slavery should be extended, if only I am understood as believing that this relation of man to man is but the completion of a relation which exists in a greater or a less degree when any man possesses the right to coerce another into labor for his benefit, without the consent of that other.

It might seem that this is, in some sort, the condition of all men; for even in this busy land, few work excepting because they must. But, if we take an extreme case, it is one thing to be able to say to a man, Work for me on the terms which I offer, or starve, leaving it to him to starve if he chooses, and a very different thing, to have the right to say to him, Work for me on my terms or no terms, because I command you. These two things differ in essence; they are as different, as non-slavery and slavery. The phrase in our Constitution, "held to labor," marks the distinction between one who is held to labor, and one who is persuaded or induced to labor. This phrase is, as it was intended to be, an exact definition of a slave.

If it happens that these words present this idea to any reader for the first time, it may seem to him visionary, unreal, and unpractical. And certainly such an idea as that a legal right of thus compelling service is itself a wrong, scarcely existed upon earth until a few generations ago. If it existed in some minds, and was uttered by some voices, it had nowhere prevalence or recognition. And to-day it can hardly be said to have definite expression and acknowledged truth in the old world. All class-right is, to some extent, opposed to it; and indeed is founded upon its opposite. And yet, history, if we permit it to throw the light of the past upon the present, may teach us that mankind in all its progress, has been constantly advancing towards this end, towards the liberation of the human mind from the thought, and of the human heart from the desire, of standing over a brother-man as his master and his owner. And a reason why that goodness which has ever led and watched the advancing footsteps of our race has guided them in this direction, is, that in proportion as the thought and desire of ruling over our brother pass away, they are replaced by the thought and the desire of

standing by his side and working with him for a common good.

Let us cast a glance—a very brief and rapid glance—at the past. Beginning where history begins, we see unqualified and unquestioned despotism; now good and now evil, utterly diverse in character and influence, but always unquestioned, and unimpeded. This was and is the Oriental idea of government; Gibbon remarks that Eastern languages have no words to express any other mode of government. At length Greece arose, and under the leading of Alexander, conquered. It was the conquest of Europe over Asia; of a European way of thinking over Oriental thought; it was a step away from the Oriental idea that despotism was the only cognizable form of government.

In Greece and Rome, whatever were the abuses of certain ages, there was always the pretence, and often the reality of governing by law. And then the feudal system advanced so far as to give every man his place. For it gave to every man his rights, such as they were, and to no man the right of absorbing all other rights into his own. The feudal system had serfs, but not slaves.

The feudal system grew, flourished, decayed, and is passing away. A step further forward was possible; but not possible in Europe. Ages which had greatly varied the institutions of feudalism, had indurated them and the system of thought and feeling adapted to them; and clothed them all with steel, more impenetrable than the mail her warriors once wore. Not in Europe could the next step be taken,—and America was discovered. And in or near the same age came the great discovery of gunpowder, which has made it impossible that the scenes Froissart so loves to paint, where a few mailed knights routed and slaughtered at their pleasure mobs of peasantry, should ever be repeated. And the compass which led Columbus to America was given as the means of a commerce which has already begun its work of binding the nations into unity. And the press was given, to give wings to thought. And all these discoveries were gifts of the same goodness and were given for the same end, as that for which America was discovered and

peopled. This end was—to express it in the fewest words—that *consent* might take the place of *compulsion*, in all the ranks and regions and work of human society.

To this end this nation was planted in the home made ready for it; fostered until it was ready to live in independence, and then gifted with independence. It was ready for nationality, and became a nation. And then came the great American Invention,—greater in worth, in wisdom, and in its beneficent influence over the whole future, than all those I have above enumerated; the invention of a Constitution.

The word is not a new one. It was applied to political institutions before we used it, and is now so applied elsewhere. But, in its American sense, and in its purpose and its work, a Constitution had no existence, until it was called into being for our needs, and our good; called into being by the progress of humanity, and for that progress.

It would of course be difficult, or rather, impossible, to give here a full exposition of the grounds on which an opinion rests, that may seem to many, extravagant. This will not be attempted. But some illustration of it may be derived from a comparison between the national feeling in this country, and that in Europe, on one point; it is, the loyalty of the nation.

There are those who think this word rightly used in Europe, with an exact and definite sense; but that here it can only be used in a kind of figurative or rhetorical sense. I think otherwise. Loyalty is everywhere a supreme political virtue; if it can have no existence here, we are most unfortunate. If there be only one form of government in which it can exist, the sooner that form of government becomes ours, the better for us and for our children.

The word loyal is the English form of the latin *legalis*. The feudal vassal, of every rank, was sworn to be *fidelis et legalis*, or faithful and loyal, to his superior. *Legalis* is the adjective form of the substantive, *lex*, law. The oath then was that he would in good faith acknowledge and defend all the rights which the law gave to his superior, and obey all the commands which the law authorized.

This is the original idea, or the abstract idea, of loyalty. It perhaps never entered into the minds of the masses, and at all events it soon took the form of personal loyalty. Nor is it difficult to see how this occurred and why it was well that it should occur.

The worst thing which can befall a man is to be delivered up to the unchecked dominion of his own self-hood, before that self-hood is raised and regenerated into the perception and the love of RIGHT. "Lord of himself, a heritage of woe," he cannot then but abuse the mastery he possesses, to his own destruction. But when he is prepared voluntarily to submit himself to the law of right, and lets this law ripen into a love for his neighbor and his neighbor's rights, then a relief from external compulsion is the best thing which can happen. Therefore, that Divine Providence, which by the necessity of an infinite goodness seeks always the highest good, is ever watchful to advance as far as may be the preparation of man for this gift, and to give it as he is prepared, and to withhold it in the degree in which he is not prepared. Between God and man, as between man and man, CONSENT is better than COMPULSION, and all progress is from compulsion to consent.

But the child is necessarily subject to coercion, because necessarily immature, and unready for self-control. And in the earliest nations which history tells us of, in the childhood of man, this immaturity was universal, and so complete that universal despotism was necessary, and permitted. As the necessity grew less, despotism was modified; but in the old world, we have no evidence yet, that the people are prepared for a safe deliverance from a controlling power. The time may come, possibly it may be near, but it has not come yet. The common phrase "King, by the grace of God," is not without its meaning and its truth. It is of the grace, or mercy of God, that kings are given to those who need kings.

We see the mastery of the father over the child, made tender and useful by the parental love which the Father of us all awakens in all at the birth of the child. And so where it is necessary for a people to have a king, or personal sovereign, governing in his own right, it is as neces-

sary and useful that there exist among the people a strong sense of personal loyalty. And it exists in Europe. Weakened certainly, passing away possibly, but it has not yet passed away.

And to what can we be loyal? Let me ask another question, to what are they in England—to take England for our illustration—to what are they loyal? To their Queen. No one who has been there, or has listened to the description of what they saw and heard who have been there, can doubt that there is—not everywhere—but in vast masses of the English people, an intense feeling of loyalty to their Queen. A loyalty which would stir their hearts to their depths and arm their hands with every weapon they could grasp in her defence. And what is their Queen? A symbol and a personification of all lawful authority. In the theory of their law, she is its source; the judges of the law are her representatives, the ministers of the law her servants. She is their personal sovereign; and she impersonates the sovereignty of the state; the preservation of all order; and the protection of all property, all industry, all prosperity.

I do not suppose that in all men's minds there is a definite intellectual apprehension of this fact, or that such ideas are recognized by them as the foundation of their loyalty. But in many minds these ideas exist, and in more hearts this feeling would have power. Let there be a threat to-morrow of an uprising which should shatter the throne, and multitudes of the English—great multitudes—I know not how many, I do not even assert, although I believe a great majority of the English, would feel that if the throne went down, revolution, convulsion, conflict and distress would fill the land. For they would feel that if the throne went down, there would go down with it, for them, the foundation of all law, and all security for order or for property.

But what have we to be loyal to? No personal sovereign, reigning in his own right. What then have we?

When our fathers bent to the work of giving form and order to our nationality, they did not begin with the appointment of a personal sovereign; but with something very different. They selected those whom they thought

their best and wisest, and commissioned them to confer together and discover the fundamental rights for which all law exists, and which underlie and sustain and promote all social good ; and the principles from which these rights forever flow. And then to devise the best forms and rules for a government which should forever acknowledge and secure these rights by a constant observance of these principles. And the fabric in which all this is contained and expressed and defined, they called a Constitution. There it stood, the child of their own will. Embodying the best wisdom they had ; and resting on the consent of all. There it stood, and thank God there it stands. And this substitution of a written Constitution, so created, and so founded, is, in my most profound belief, the greatest political step ever yet taken in human progress, and a step which He who loves us infinitely will never permit to be retracted.

We live in the beginning of an age, of which the characteristic, politically, will be constitutional republican government. We are only at its beginning ; and already discern questions we know not how to solve, difficulties we know not how to meet, mischiefs we know not how to prevent. More, very many more, will come up as time rolls on. But this age, like every other of those in history, will gradually—perhaps slowly and through much error and misfortune—develop itself into the forms best adapted for the fullest operation of its dominant principle. And that principle is and will remain, the substitution of Consent for Compulsion.

Let me go back again to England for a moment. Let us compare English loyalty with our own, as to its grounds and its reasonableness. They are loyal to their sovereign. Victoria, as queen, as mother, and as matron, commands the respect of all in America. When her son was here, nothing struck me more, and I may say nothing touched me more, than the way in which that feeling was expressed. It seemed as if we felt that the excellence of English matronhood sat, in her person, on the throne of England. Not a word would I say, not a feeling have I which would suggest a word in derogation of this acknowledgment. But she must die. Her son, whatever

may be hoped of him, has as yet only given a promise of excellence. He too must die. And the lives of his successors must be subject to vicissitudes, of which history, and none more plainly than the History of England, tells the sad tale. When Victoria's uncle, George IV., sat on the throne, the loyalty of England was shocked, and almost killed, by his wickedness, and selfishness, and the unconcealed foulness of his life and character. When such another sits there, that loyalty may have a deeper, even a fatal wound. To such chances and such perils the personal loyalty of England must submit.

And through all these ages—if we do not prove unworthy of so great a blessing—will stand our Constitution. Not, as some in Europe who speak of it suppose, because it is fixed and crystallized into forms which may be broken but cannot change. The exact opposite of this is the truth. It is a living organism. It invites and provides for change. It desires all changes, in all time, which shall make it ever more able to perform its great functions. But it carefully provides that these changes shall come only as a common demand, shall be matured by a common deliberation, and rest on a common consent; common, not universal, for that it is too wise to demand.

That it must be far easier to be loyal when the object of our loyalty is a person, is certain. It must be a great relief to the human mind, in a certain condition, to have those principles of order, law, and RIGHT, to which loyalty is due, impersonated in one who can be recognized and approached. But the providence of God, as it is manifested in the progress of humanity, seeks to lift the human mind above the condition in which it requires this relief, this assistance. And the great question for us this day, is, whether the American mind and character are lifted to the height of our own institutions. If not, we need, and if we need we shall have, a king.

The very foundation of our existence as a nation is mutual desire, common consent. It has been too little noticed, that this nation stands alone on earth in one characteristic. What other great nation exists, or ever has existed, from the days of Nimrod the hunter of men, to this day, which did not acquire its growth and more or

less of its dominion, by conquest, by compulsion? Various have been the forms and modes of this compulsion; but, in some form, it has existed everywhere. Our nation alone was formed without one atom of this element. And if Texas and California seem to have been added by conquest, it was perhaps the introduction of a new element; and it was, at all events, the conquest of the land only, and not of the people; and when the sparse population we found there grew into a sufficient magnitude, it was at their own request that they were admitted to an equal share of all our rights, all our advantages, all our sovereignty. The idea of conquest and subjugation seems to me utterly foreign to the nature and working and life of our political institutions.

But it may be asked how can we compel the rebels to return within the Union, without conquest and subjugation. What right have we to *compel* them at all, if the very essential characteristic of our institutions is consent, instead of compulsion.

Before a government can be carried on upon the principle of consent, it must be clearly and practically understood, that *consent* is perfectly consistent with *contract*, and the obligations springing from contract.

As I have already said, I believe an immense step was taken in the progress of our race, by the establishment of our nationality, *because* this nationality is founded upon the principle of *consent*, and all our institutions and laws and usages must rest upon *consent*.

I now say, that consent means nothing until something is consented to; or, in other words, something is agreed upon; or, again, consent comes into effect and actual existence, when there are agreements, made by and between consenting parties; made with their consent and concurrence. And then a nationality founded upon consent, must have as its very essence, the right and the power of enforcing agreements, or contracts, made by the consent of the parties.

For example. No man in Massachusetts is obliged to buy or to sell anything excepting at his own pleasure and by his own free choice. But if he *consents* to buy or to sell, and makes an agreement to that effect, then he is

held absolutely, and if need be coercively, to his obligation; that is, to deliver what he sells when he is paid, or to pay for what he buys.

It must be perfectly obvious, that national institutions cannot be founded upon and characterized by the principle of consent, unless it is a part of that principle, embodied in the consent of the whole nation, that when *consent* ripens into *contract*, there shall exist the right, the power and the duty of enforcing the contract-obligation.

We apply and test this principle continually, in the smaller matters of every-day occurrence. We are now testing the same principle on the largest scale.

All the States, and all the persons in every State, have agreed to our national existence and our national institutions. No matter whether they have formally expressed their consent, by oath, or voting, or otherwise. They have lived under them; profited by them; received their share of the good derived from them. And common sense as well as common law holds them to be *estopped* from denying their consent; their contract.

Rebellion is the last and most consummate violation of contract-obligation. It is the violation by force of the contract which is the foundation on which our nationality rests, and therefore upon which all order, all society, all contract-obligation rests. And therefore it is a violation of contract against which the whole force of the nation should be thrown, with a concentration of all its might, and with unfaltering energy, and unrelenting determination.

But conquest and subjugation do not enter into my idea of either our right or our duty; for this plain reason. We fight only against rebellion; against the rebels only because they are and as they are rebels. And as soon as the rebellion is suppressed, as soon as they cease to be rebels, they return again within the Constitution; within its obligations, within its penalties for whatever crimes they have committed, but also within its protection.

To regard them not as rebels, but as enemies in the same sense in which strangers at war with us would be our enemies, is to declare that rebellion has succeeded; has done its work; has separated them from us.

If consent was the foundation of our nationality, so it was of the Constitution which gives to it form and definition. The very heart and essence of this constitution, as of every State Constitution, is, that it is the voluntary work of all, the expression of the common will, resting upon common consent ; and so terminating in a common contract, and a common obligation.

The heart and essence of all constitutional republicanism is CONSENT. The heart and essence of all slavery is COMPULSION. History does not exhibit, and the mind of man cannot conceive, a more absolute political antagonism, than that between constitutional republican government, and slavery. Hence this war. For this war is nothing else than this antagonism, uttering its voice, casting off its disguise, taking up all the weapons of conflict, and seeking success by FORCE. The war, with all its fury, its slaughter, its hatred, and its sacrifice, is but a revelation of the war, eternally existing, between the two principles of Freedom and Slavery.

And yet our national constitution recognizes and protects slavery. It does so ; and it was made to do so for a sufficient reason. When our fathers framed it, they found slavery not only existing, but universally diffused ; stronger in some places than in others, but wholly absent almost nowhere. They found also, that wherever slavery existed, there co-existed with it, some knowledge of its character, and something of the fear and of the dislike that character should inspire. Three courses, and only three, were open to them. To abandon the purpose of a union of the whole. To violate the fundamental principle of consent, and try what could be done by compulsion. To accept the fact of slavery as it stood with all its concomitants, and its probable future, with the hope that truth would gradually prevail over falsehood, good over evil, and freedom over slavery. They chose the last of these alternatives, and they chose wisely and well.

At that time a conflict between freedom and slavery in this country would not have been safe ; it would not have so resulted as to promote the progress of man towards freedom. Not only was slavery, technically so-called, nearly universal in some degree, but the great principle,

so lately born among men, that it was not well for any man to have the right of compelling another to act without his own concurrence, was dimly seen and feebly felt. And therefore the kind and measure of pro-slavery which claims and loves this right, would have been found potent everywhere, and all its sympathies would have been, as they are now and ever must be, with that consummated slavery which deems it well for a man to own a man. The conflict would not then have been safe. Our fathers did well and wisely in not exciting it. They left it for a future day. It has come in our day. The way in which it has come is this.

As the years passed on, slavery, from causes all of which are not obvious, gradually withdrew from a large part of the country, and gradually became concentrated in another part; and thus slavery and non-slavery became to a great degree separated and distinguished from each other.

In that part of the country where slavery was concentrated, it flourished. It produced an apparent prosperity, in which the slaves had little share, and the mass of poor whites round them even less, while it made the few slave-owners rich in idleness. But while it impoverished and degraded the poor whites, it fed and gratified their pride that even in their degradation they could look down with utter contempt upon a numerous class below them. And this false and foolish pride kept up in their minds a comparison of their condition as freemen with that of the slaves, and they did not know their degradation; and they learned to love slavery, as well as the rich men who were masters of the slaves without disguise, and masters of the poor whites under a thin disguise.

The consequence of this was inevitable. That region became a slave region completely and thoroughly. Not only was nearly all its wealth slave-wealth, but in about the same proportion its opinion became a slave-opinion; its belief a slave-belief; its reason a slave-reason; its conscience a slave-conscience; its religion a slave-religion. Not universally, but prevailingly. And its policy,—for in this the majority ruled,—became an absolute, unqualified, slave-policy.

And in the meantime how fared it with the region from which slavery had withdrawn? That region also flourished; and while its prosperity outran anything in human experience and astonished the world, it was as remarkable for its diffusion as for its amount. It was the result of the co-operation of all, concurring in labor of all kinds, but all resulting in a common good, of which all had their share, and nearly all a share proportionate to their industry and intelligence.

With this there grew up, and into great strength, a feeling and belief that this marvellous prosperity was due to our nationality, which alone could give it safety and permanence, and to the principles of human rights which our Constitution expressed and protected. The great marts of commerce felt that they must decay with our national decay. The owners of and the workers in the mills to which our rushing streams are harnessed, knew as well as if the sun-light wrote it on their walls, that only in the preservation of our nationality could they prosper. The men who ploughed and planted and reaped those wide Western fields which could feed a world, felt that they could work in peace, and find wealth in the product of their labors, only on condition that our nationality was preserved.

In all this there was alloy enough of selfishness. But through it all, there also grew into strength, and into habitual and common thought, the notion that every man owned himself, and had a right to employ himself only with his own consent, however hard might be the terms to which he chose to consent; and that constitutional republicanism was founded on this principle.

It is this thought which underlies all the true democracy of this country. It may have in the minds of the masses but little precision of logical definition; it may be quite too much allied with and degraded by selfishness; and it often expresses itself with great coarseness of word and act. But there it is, right in itself, and a sentiment of great power. Because it has this power, there has grown up with it a false democracy, which desires to confound itself with the true democracy, that it may use it as a tool; and it acquires the use of it by false

pretences. This false democracy asserts vociferously a sympathy with the true democracy, when in fact it is in exact opposition to it ; because its whole aim is to use men without their actual consent ; and as this can no longer be done by violence, it is done by fraud and falsehood.

I have attempted a very general sketch of the condition and sentiment of the two great regions of this country, the slave region, and the non-slave region. And when the greater growth of the non-slave element warned the slave element that it was on the way to death, slowly and lingeringly perhaps, but inevitably, the slave element rushed into a conflict which it hoped would end in a victory that would give it permanent power and therefore permanent existence. And it may do this, unless the conflict ends, not in the victory, but in the defeat of slavery. I do not say its destruction, but its defeat. And if it so ends, whatever form this defeat puts on, the death of slavery is made more certain and brought more near. Which of these results is impending ; the victory or the defeat of Slavery ; the success or the suppression of Rebellion ?

This must depend on the relative strength of the parties ; not merely the strength which each party possesses, but the strength which each party brings into the conflict. And one important measure of this strength, is the unity of each party.

The slave party was far from being unanimous at the outset. The cautious and skilful measures adopted by the leaders of the rebellion to bring their States into the attitude of rebellion without a popular vote on the question, is, of itself, a sufficient proof of this. Their earnest and successful endeavors "to fire the Southern heart," showed that they thought it needed to be fired ; and none could judge of this so well as they could. Undoubtedly there was much lingering attachment to the Union ; much fear for the possible consequences of war and for its inevitable suffering and sacrifice ; and some doubt whether slavery was a good thing to fight for. But the Southern heart has been fired. The voice of opposition has been silenced, and wherever necessary strangled with a rope. And while the terrible distress, and enormous sacrifice,

and extreme exhaustion which have attended the rebellion must have produced much effect, it may still be said, that so far as we can judge from trust-worthy testimony, there is now a very great degree of unity at the South.

The guns of Sumter fired the Northern heart at once. There was a wonderful uprising of the whole people. Even the false democracy saw instantly (and they are not usually mistaken on such points) that they should lose all hold of the true democracy, if they did not join, with seeming heartiness at least, in the defence of our nationality.

This uprising, in its unanimity, its earnestness, and the proofs it gave of its reality, surprised ourselves, astonished Europe, and most of all amazed and disappointed the rebels. Because the slave influence had made the mind of that region a slave-mind, they could not, they cannot now, and they never will comprehend it. But the fact was patent, and to them fearful. But time went on, and old differences revived, and new ones came up. Different interests and different regions began to look at each other with watchfulness, perhaps with jealousy and distrust. All opinion finds expression here, and is confirmed by expression; for here there can be no reign of terror. Men grew angry; and as an angry man is necessarily unwise, unwise notions, unsound arguments, and mistaken conclusions flew through the community.

Looking at the matter from some points of view, it might seem as if the war had strengthened the unity of the rebellion, and weakened that of the resistance to it. But I am not sure that it is so.

There are many sources of error on this point. Thus, it is extremely difficult to know what portion of the seeming disaffection is nothing more than a mere discovery of the disaffection existing at the beginning, but then concealed, or at least not expressed. Then again we may be deceived by the loud and universal fault-finding, which has reached an excess that would be ludicrous, if it were not dangerous. But it may not be so dangerous as it seems. Of course no one can hope for a general renunciation of the cheap and easy pleasure of fault-finding. He who finds fault with another, generally asserts by implication his own belief (an unconscious one perhaps) of his superiority, of

his freedom from that which he rebukes. He judges, he condemns, he looks from above, down. And where is the human being to whom this is not grateful? No. We may hope for money, for effort, toil, and courage to face any peril. But we must not hope for so enormous a sacrifice as the voluntary relinquishment of fault-finding. Of course it does harm; but it may also do some good; possibly in the rebuke of some actual wrong, or the correction of some actual mistake, or in the fact that it keeps us awake and alive to existing exigencies.

But whatever uncertain good this reckless fault-finding may do, it works one great and certain mischief in the despondency which it produces and diffuses.

Despondency is always the effect of weakness, and always increases weakness. Therefore it is never wise. And in times like these it is most mischievous, most dangerous. A very profound thinker has said, "There is nothing I fear so much as Fear." This saying, wise for most times, is, for us in these times, brimful of wisdom. The army of the people should be what military men call "the supporting force" of the army we have sent to the front. And a panic in the one army may be as fatal as a panic in the other.

We may be prudent and cautious; neither unduly elated nor depressed; moderate in our expectations; and yet rational, firm and hopeful.

He who has given all the money he can spare, and sent his sons to battle, while his wife and daughters toil for the comfort and health of the soldiers, has yet one more duty to perform, which, to some tempers, is the most difficult of all. It is, to repel Despondency from his own mind, and protect all whom he can from this moral palsy. Not more certain is it that red-handed Treason has brought us to this pass, than that, among the loyal, Despondency is the servant of Treason, doing its work where no thought of treason could gain admittance. Much of this work has been done; but I am sure, for all the moaning and groaning which echoes around us, that the heart of New England still beats with strong and steady pulse.

And then it must be remembered, that the differences exhibited among us, are to an immense extent, differences

as to the means and not differences as to the end. Behind nearly all of them, and urging them on, is the determination that the country must be saved. It is easy to mistake in this matter. Thus, recent elections have given the opposition a majority in some large States. But the most potent "cry" employed by the victors was against the government for its lack of energy in the prosecution of the war. And yet a political victory, gained by the expression of a vehement desire that the war should be urged with the utmost energy, and by a passionate appeal to this ruling desire of the people, is regarded by some, and made use of by some, at home and abroad, as evidence that this very desire is feeble and dying out! Some even of the leaders who won this victory in this way would have it mean "erring sisters go in peace." But our erring sisters understand these matters better than some of us do; they are not deceived, if we are.

The most fervent loyalty, the most elevated patriotism, are so fortified on this point by every motive of interest, of selfishness, and mere expediency, that I cannot doubt their ultimate success. In the loyal States there is an infinite diversity of interests, sentiments, habits, motives and opinions. And this diversity is one of degree as well as of kind. Not only is there loyalty of the loftiest and purest character, and also the most unmitigated selfishness, but there is loyalty in every degree, from the highest to the lowest, and selfishness of every degree from the lowest upwards. And there is an equal diversity of opinion as to the principles upon which the conflict is to be urged, and as to the means to be used in the suppression of the rebellion, and as to the way in which those means should be employed. All this diversity is doubtless a disturbing and retarding force. It must make the struggle longer and more difficult, and our success less perfect. But, will it defeat the struggle, will it prevent our success? I think not. I believe we shall succeed.

But, what do I mean by success? or, what success is it that I look for? On the one side of this conflict is slavery; and with it disruption of the Union, and rebellion against the Constitution. But these three are one, and that one is Rebellion. On the other side are three things also.

One of these is the opposition to slavery ; another, the determination to save our nationality ; the third, loyalty to the Constitution. And these three things are also one, and that one is the suppression of Rebellion. To many minds these three things seem to be distinct, and they have indeed assumed, to some extent, an attitude of antagonism to each other. But, to my mind, they are as closely connected, as indissolubly one in their nature and their influence, as are the three elements of the rebellion. And, therefore, as rebellion is the one thing in which its three elements are waging war against us, so a suppression of the rebellion is the one thing in which the elements of our resistance should combine. That should be the constant end ; and all other things regarded only as the means to this end. Let me try to show how the three elements of our resistance to rebellion are one.

The preservation of our nationality will be necessarily, at some time and in some way, the death of slavery. For the heart and essence of our national existence is the principle of freedom. This principle has grown in development and strength beyond the principle of slavery, not by any accident, but because it could not be otherwise in a nation founded as ours was, and characterized and circumstanced as ours has been, and is, and must continue to be as long as we are one nation. The South felt this. The Southern mind has become essentially a slave-mind. Many persons there are probably unable to form a conception of nationality or civilization without slavery ; and some have avowed this. Their hatred of the "accursed Yankees" is only an expression of the love of slavery ; Yankeeism being with them an impersonation of non-slavery. They saw plainly, or they felt instinctively, that slavery would perish if our nationality should continue. The death of slavery seems to them their own death. They are fighting for life. They are fighting to destroy our nationality, because if our nationality lives, slavery must die. In all this they are not mistaken. The only strange thing is, that we do not see this as plainly as they do.

Then, as to our Constitution. If we continue to be a nation, we must have, as I think, inevitably, a constitutional republican government ; and between such a con-

stitutional government and slavery, there must be, forever and inevitably, antagonism. And this is what I mean, when I say, that the three elements of our resistance to the rebellion, opposition to slavery, determination to preserve our nationality, and loyalty to the Constitution, are in their nature and essence, One.

Shall we preserve our nationality? I can only say, there seem to me reasons why we should, and influences leading to that result, of such irresistible weight and force that I do not believe they can fail. Against them all comes the disrupting force of slavery. And while I write there are jealousies, intrigues, outcries, threatening to separate the West from the East; they are strongly reinforced by something which calls itself, and may believe itself a defence of the Constitution; and the whole is used energetically by the demagoguism, which would sacrifice everything that came between it and its prey. But I do not greatly fear such things. The power of evil can do much, but there are barriers it cannot pass. I believe that if the Mississippi were open to-day, and the Eastern Atlantic closed against the West, they would fight as desperately to reöpen it as they are fighting now to reöpen the Mississippi. They need both; no matter which they need most; they need both absolutely.

But shall we preserve our present Constitution *as it is*? In my judgment, that Constitution has not yet been violated, in any way or to any extent, greater or less. But there are those who think otherwise. There are some who are very angry about this; or who express a great deal of eloquent anger, in hopes to excite some anger among those who hear or read them. I do not say they do not believe what they say. There are persons, not unfrequently met with, who, when they want to say a thing strongly, begin with making themselves believe it. With some minds this is an easy process, and a useful one; for it enables them to give to what they say the earnestness, and force, and influence of honesty—of honesty of a certain kind. It may not be very wise in me, or in any one, to contemplate remote and imaginable perils, which, if they are not mere follies, are only not impossibilities. I do not believe that the various elements

of opposition to the government, and of friendship for the rebels *can* so coalesce and inflame each other, as to make it necessary for the government to sacrifice our nationality *or* sacrifice our Constitution; but, if this choice *must* be made, then, with as much love and reverence for the Constitution as my nature is capable of, I should still say, our nationality must not be lost, and rebellion must not prevail.

The Senate has been recently agitated by a case, where a man supposed to be an active sympathizer with the rebels, was arrested and imprisoned. The President and Commander-in-Chief in this war upon the very life and being of the country, had suspended the Habeas Corpus, and imprisoned him. Then the man utterly denied his sympathy, or at all events his active sympathy with the rebels. And thereupon the President (always through his agents) offered to release him at once, if only he would take the oath of allegiance to the United States. And he would not; and remained under arrest. Now I wish to repeat most emphatically, that there was not, in my judgment, any violation of the Constitution here, of any kind or any degree whatever. But if there was any violation whatever, I am sure it was not a substantial violation. I am willing to say farther, that if I *must* choose between that defence of the Constitution which holds it always on the hand and uses it as a tool, and has it always on the lips and makes it a means for obstructive agitation, and ostentatiously clings to its letter while it is weakening the defence of its very existence;—if I must choose between this and that other defence of the Constitution which would preserve its vital principles, and the allegiance due to it, even at the cost of some violation of the letter, I should not choose the former. I would not save the body at the expense of the soul.

Some of the “Defenders of the Constitution” of the present day, use with much emphasis the phrase, “The Constitution makes us a nation.” It suits my way of thinking better to say, our nationality made the Constitution. “We, the people of the United States,” determined to become a nation. By our agents we determined also upon the principles and the forms which should manifest

our nationality to ourselves and to the world, and govern us in all the working of our national life. These principles and forms are expressed in the Constitution. I am willing to say almost anything of it, excepting that it *makes* our nationality. The Constitution proves our nationality, defines it, expresses it, guards it, protects it, *but does not make it*. I can sympathize heartily, with any defence of our Constitution which seems to me honest and rational. It may be honest and rational, although I do not think so. But if it does not seem so to me, I cannot sympathize with it.

I can discern no limits to a nation's right of self-salvation. A man may save his own life by any effort or any means, not prohibited by the laws of God even in that extremity. I am sure that this right, and this duty, belong equally to a nation.

Success then I hope for. Success in retaining our nationality. Success in preserving the life of our Constitution. And I also hope for success against slavery, because this is involved in the preservation of our nationality and our Constitution.

Would that I were able to impress my convictions on this last point, upon the community. A mistake in relation to it seems to me to be doing great mischief.

The divisions of opinion which weaken our efforts may be reduced into two classes. I will designate them, for my own convenience, as the anti-slavery party, and the opposition party; although each of the parties of whom I would speak includes those whom these words would not accurately describe. I think the mistake they make is one, although it assumes two very different aspects.

The anti-slavery party believes it will advance its purposes by a direct attack on slavery; they say, let us kill slavery and rebellion will die. If they believed as I do, that our nationality and our Constitution were the very best possible instruments through which slavery might be assailed and extirpated, in the best time and in the best way whatever that may be, they might adopt a different course.

The opposition would treat slavery tenderly, in hopes to allure or entice the slave States back. They do not realize

that our national life has been, from its beginning, working against slavery. That, while it permitted slavery to acquire great extent and power, it built up the prosperity of the free States at a far greater rate, and strengthened the element of non-slavery against slavery, until the supremacy of the latter disappeared; and that the slave States saw this clearly and perfectly; saw and knew beyond all doubt or question, that slavery must die if it did not escape from the Union; saw and knew that the hour had come when only the struggle was possible, because delay would make even the struggle impossible. They therefore sprang into rebellion; and this day, they see and know, every man of them, that a return to the Union involves the decay and certain death of slavery before a very long time. Between this peril, and the chances of war, they chose, and must choose. They know, if we do not, that the public sentiment of this country will never permit such immunities and securities for slavery as would give it enduring vitality and permanent power, even if such were possible, which I do not believe. The opposition party deceive themselves if they think they can bring back the slave States by any other means whatever than by making the chances of war valueless to them. And yet it is this very opposition, and the division in our counsels and our conduct that it produces, which alone give to the rebels all the hope they have, all the chance they have. For if they have any hope now of foreign intervention, they know, if we do not, that it is this division alone, which will make intervention possible.

I think our government makes a mistake allied to this. The President knows that there is a divided sentiment in the country, and that we can only succeed by bringing the whole strength of the loyal States to bear on the rebellion. And he labors, honestly and earnestly, to reconcile, or at least combine, the two great parties which he recognizes. His mistake is, not to recognize, and not to throw himself upon, a much stronger party.

Each of these parties desires and demands that the rebellion shall be put down, *in its own way*. The great mass of the people desire and demand only that the REBELLION BE PUT DOWN. A year ago this great party comprehended

almost everybody. Now, the anti-slavery party have persuaded many that the rebellion can be put down only by direct assault upon slavery. The opposition have persuaded many that it can be put down only by treating slavery tenderly. But I believe the great mass of the people stands where it stood. If Abraham Lincoln, in whose absolute honesty of purpose every one has confidence, and as to whose capacity doubts have arisen only from his seeming vacillation, would adopt and declare *his own policy*, his own method of putting down the rebellion, on no other ground and with no other thought and no other motive whatever, than that he verily believed it to be the best way to SUPPRESS THE REBELLION, he would find himself at once at the head of this great party, the people. Then, they would be glad to see him carry out this policy vigorously and unrelentingly, destroy what he might, or save what he might. They would not be led away from him by the outcries of the leaders of any parties, or of all parties. If he removed from office, civil or military, every man whom he has a right to dismiss, and who would not act energetically and cordially in carrying out his policy; and if he would throw the whole force of the government into it, without hindrance, stop, or stay, the people would go with him.

A few days since I had this conversation with a most excellent and intelligent lady. She said to me, —

“Do you not expect that this war will be the death of slavery?”

I answered, “I have no opinion about that.”

“But do you not hate slavery?”

“Yes, as much as I can.”

“Do you not believe God hates slavery as much as you do?”

“Infinitely more.”

“Then, if you do not believe that this war will put an end to slavery, you must lack faith in Providence; either that He does not hate slavery as it should be hated; or that His imperfect wisdom does not tell Him how to extirpate it; or that His power is inadequate to the work He would do.”

I replied, "I hope my answer will not offend you; but, perhaps the difference between us may be, not that I have less faith in God, but less faith in myself, less faith in the purity of my motives, in the accuracy of my perceptions, in my judgment as to what is best, and as to the best means of accomplishing the best results."

Slavery has been permitted to exist almost always and almost everywhere, as technical, or absolute slavery. But against it Christianity strove from the beginning; or, as I should say, our Father worked through Christianity to lead men away from it. How much is signified by the little fact, that in the year 321 the Edict of Constantine, which established the worship of the Lord's day, by prohibiting on that day, and for that purpose, the sitting of the courts and all judicial proceeding, makes one exception. It is, in favor of the proceedings by which a slave was formally made free. So has Christianity ever worked against Slavery, with great and continued success; not yet with entire success. But it is certain that if Christianity does not ultimately succeed in conquering slavery, slavery will succeed in conquering Christianity; for their essential antagonism is eternal. I am sure that Christianity will ultimately conquer slavery. But by what means, by what steps, or at what rate of progress, Christianity will advance in its conquest of slavery,—that I do not know.

It certainly seems to me probable that slavery must be materially weakened by this conflict and its results. It seems to me possible, and not improbable, that it may receive a wound that is obviously fatal, and be brought near to inevitable death. It seems to me possible, but not probable, that it may utterly perish, and once for all disappear from this whole country to be seen here no more.

I know, certainly, only this. It is now our duty, the most absolute duty of all in the free States, TO FIGHT. To fight against Rebellion. To fight against it by every weapon we can use, whether it be forged of steel, or impelled by fire; or only by words winged with the fire of loyalty to God and to our country; or only by thoughts and feelings which find no utterance. Fight against the serried ranks of Rebellion if our place be there; fight

against the errors or malignities which sympathize with Rebellion if our place be at home ; fight, even in our own hearts, against prejudices, or passions, or interests, or habits, or hatreds, which, not intentionally or consciously, but in fact, paralyze our efforts, strengthen and envenom our dissensions, and give aid and comfort to Rebellion.

Slavery is compatible with much excellence of heart and character and conduct. I have no doubt whatever, that there are many slaveholders who are kind and just men. That they heartily acknowledge their duty to their slaves, and endeavor conscientiously to discharge their duty. But wherever this goodness exists within slavery it must be exceptional. It must exist, not because of slavery, but in despite of it. And I suppose that such slave-owners are not among those who believe that slavery is essentially a good thing, and who love slavery. Because it seems to me this love can have no other origin than the love of dominion and mastery, grounded in pure selfishness.

So also, as I admit that compulsion is good while there is an immaturity which demands it, slaveholders will tell me that the negro race is incapable of maturity ; and therefore the best thing for it is and will always be the guidance and guardianship and protection of slavery. This I do not believe. I lay aside all inquiry into the origin of the negro, or into the differences which separate him from the white man. I am sure of this ; he has, or is capable of having human affections and human thoughts. He is therefore a Man. And therefore he is or may become something which should not be a slave.

I have repeatedly spoken of slavery as existing technically and avowedly, and as the absolute ownership of a man by a man ; and then we call it slavery. And as also existing in its elements and its essence wherever a right exists of coercing a man to labor for another in any way, without his own consent and concurrence. This may be called compulsion. I will not insist that it be called imperfect,

modified, disguised slavery, because I might then use a word which may impart to the thing itself, a character which does not belong to it. I will call it compulsion.

It is very possible to see the deformity of slavery, when it is undisguised, and to hate what is thus seen, and all the while to love and cling to that right of compulsion which is similar in essence. To illustrate my meaning, I will go again to England. There, hatred of slavery has appeared to be dominant and zealous, and it has certainly been eloquent with some and vociferous with many. But our civil war has applied a touchstone to the English hatred of slavery. It has brought it into conflict with the interests, the prejudices, the jealousies and the fears of the ruling classes. In all conflicts it is the weakest party which yields; and in this conflict, the hatred of slavery appears to have yielded in the minds of these classes. The reason seems to me plain enough; because the fact seems to me certain, that, while technical slavery has no existence in England, and while every Englishman rejoices in the boast that if a slave stands upon English soil his chains fall from him, the very essential principle of slavery exists and operates in England, and has great favor there. What I mean is, that the South, and the whole Southern mind and character, are not more permeated and dominated by the principle of Slavery, than the English mind is permeated and dominated by the principle of Servility.

The cement which holds the fabric of English society together, is Servility. An Englishman looks upon those higher than himself in class-position, with a humility and subservience, that to a stranger who sees it or reads of it, is either disgusting, or amazing, or amusing. But he looks down on those below him in class-position, and demands and receives the same humility and subservience. We read of the castes in India, and wonder at them. But in England the noble families are far above the untitled in all social arrangements. The landed gentry will not meet on equal terms with the merchant. And the merchant looks down with the same self-complacency upon the retail trader. A shopkeeper would be a phenomenon in a great house, if he had not been sent for to exhibit his wares. And all look down, alike, upon their

servants. It is true the question of wealth runs through all this, because now, in England, mere wealth, however come by, gives a spurious kind of rank, which some acknowledge and some do not.

When chemists speak of a substance differing from another in that one of its many elements is changed for another which occupies precisely its place and enters into all its relations, they say the new element has *replaced* the former. It is precisely in this sense, that I say the Servility of England *replaces* the Slavery of our Southern States. For servility enters into the relations of English society, and affects the various classes of the nation, with a close analogy to the place and influence of slavery in the South.

For example, no one would say that the four millions of slaves love slavery. There are slave-owners who say it, but they do not think it, and cannot expect any person to suppose that they believe it. And yet slavery must have affected the minds of these millions. Many of them doubtless value the protection, the food and shelter it gives them; and they dread the consequences of any agitation for freedom.

So, in England, more than as many millions are utterly without voice or vote or political rights, and are nothing more than the producers of wealth for the residue, for wages which only sustain life. They cannot love the institutions which bring upon them this constant degradation and frequent suffering. But they are accustomed to their condition. They know not how otherwise to get the means of even living. And they fear change, for they have lost the capacity of hoping for anything better.

We supposed that the negroes would move in some way in furtherance of their deliverance. I did not expect insurrection; I did not desire it, nor do I know any person who did desire it. But I supposed that a movement like that which has actually taken place in some parts of the slave region, would have become, by this time, general. It is, in substance, a refusal of the slaves to work unless for wages and on terms agreed upon. Such a movement would have been a fearful calamity for the Rebels. The negroes could not have been coerced without the aid of

soldiers who could not be spared from their armies. And a compliance with their demands would have struck at the heart of slavery.. But the slaves have not moved.

So it is often said that England is "on a volcano," and that her laborers and her poor must rise up and seize the first opportunity of breaking their bondage. I do not believe they would. What keeps the slaves quiet, would keep them quiet. Fear and habit have great power.

Again. In the South the slave-owners are not all of one mind. Some among them, certainly, dislike "the peculiar institution." They consider it as fastened upon them, and know not how to cast it off without utter ruin. But they would be glad to have it mitigated, and improved, or removed if possible. So in England, of the governing classes there are some, we know, and more, we suppose, who do not believe that civilization demands that the exuberant wealth of a few should co-exist with the enormous mass of misery, destitution and degradation festering at the base of English society. Nor do these persons love the Servility which characterizes their country. They wish, some of them act, for the mitigation and improvement of this state of things. But they look upon this evil as fastened upon them, and so rooted in the whole fabric of English society, that it could not be taken away without bringing the fabric itself to ruin.

Again. Russell's Diary gives us conclusive evidence, that the leading conspirators of the South desire, earnestly desire, a monarchy. And slavery must desire a monarchy. The very nature of the case makes it certain, that if slavery should ever become the acknowledged "corner-stone," as Mr. Vice-President Stephens calls it, of a State, at its summit there must stand, whatever title he may bear, a despot. But servility, which is only modified slavery, differs from slavery, which is intensified servility, in this. It does not require a despot. Less will satisfy its needs. Hence England requires and has a "constitutional monarch."

What does this phrase practically mean? The king (or queen) of England reigns on condition that he will not govern nor attempt to govern. Queen Victoria has less political power than any one of her most prominent

and influential subjects. Indeed she has none. It is the universally recognized proof of her sagacity and her fitness for her place, that she abstains from any interference with the government of the country. While I write, the "London Times," which speaks for and to the aristocracy of England, inculcates, somewhat rudely, the same abstinence upon the Prince of Wales. Where then is the actual power of the State, for it must be somewhere? It is in the hands of an aristocracy, who are the possessors of unquestioned power, and are, of late years, beginning to cast off their disguise. This aristocracy is, partly an aristocracy of rank, and partly an aristocracy of wealth. Keen observers say that the last is gaining on the first, and getting the mastery. It is difficult to say how this is, because they work with so much harmony. The aristocracy of rank seeks to bring wealth within its "order," by marrying the possessors of wealth, or ennobling them. The aristocracy of wealth seeks to add the advantage of rank, by marriage alliances, or by getting titles. But considering them as one, this aristocracy is the absolute master of England; more absolutely its master, than Louis Napoleon is of France, or Alexander is of Russia. The aristocracy appoints and sustains and directs the ministers. The Prime Minister is their chief servant. The Queen, who calls these ministers her servants, is but the servant of their masters. And this is in perfect harmony with English institutions and English character. Everything in that nation depends upon class distinctions and class rights; and it is necessary that the highest class should be the master of the rest.

A Constitution is a supreme law alike obligatory upon the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judicial departments, and upon the whole people; to be violated by none, and to be changed only by common consent. Of this, or anything like this, they have absolutely nothing in England. Parliament, which is controlled by the aristocracy, may enact what law it will. The veto-power of the king has been abandoned for many reigns and many generations, and is dead. Whatever Parliament enacts, every executive officer, every magistrate, every judge, and every subject, MUST regard as law and obey as law. The

“Constitutional King of England” is therefore a king who reigns on condition that he will be only a pageant and not a king, and whose kingdom is utterly destitute of a Constitution.

All this is perfectly consistent with a vast amount of moral worth, with individual and national energy, and with all the splendor and grace which intellectual ability and culture of the highest order can impart. All these are there, abundantly and certainly. I do not doubt in the least that all are there; I am only endeavoring to state and illustrate the principle which runs through them all.

Our fathers were Englishmen. They brought with them English blood and character,—although not then precisely such as these are now. I cannot enlarge upon this difference, nor consider the modifications these elements of character must have undergone while more than six generations have lived and died under circumstances very different from those of the English people. But we remained her colonies, and politically a part of England, until we won our Independence. Since then we have not been politically her colonies. But we have stood in what was very near to a colonial relation and dependence in other respects. Her mind and her manners and usages and judgments about men and things have influenced ours in a degree and in a way that few of us have been aware of. I certainly was not. Therefore I consider this war a second war of Independence. That chain is broken, at all events; and its links can never be welded together. I hope that the anger which now exists may pass away, and be succeeded by kindness; and I hope we shall learn to make due allowance for the governments of Europe. The growth and prosperity of a nation founded upon Consent must be a constant menace, and an ever-growing peril for institutions founded upon Compulsion. If our institutions attract to us the sympathies of the governed classes, so much the more must they repel the governing classes. We should indeed ask of these governing classes to be more than human, if we ask them not to look upon our institutions with dislike, our prosperity with jealousy and fear, our perils with hope, and our decay—if that shall come—with rejoicing.

Let us be just to the aristocracy of England. Their

hostility to the free States and their sympathy with the slave States, astonished, grieved and angered us. But let us not forget that the suppression of the rebellion and the restoration of our prosperity under a constitutional government, would be, for that aristocracy, a peril, only less, if less, than the rebellion itself is for the United States.

I hope this war will complete our independence of England. For with the most sincere acknowledgment of great and various excellence in the English character, I am quite sure that her influence has been, on some important points, quite injurious to us.

Servility includes the two ideas of the sentiment servility on the part of those who look up, and the love of servility on the part of those who look down. And no doubt we have imported a good deal of servility from England. Of the love of servility in those who look down, I fear we are not quite rid yet. We do not all cordially accept the principles of American institutions as those under which we must live, whether we like them or not, as long as we live here. I fear that some of us subject ourselves to much discomfort, in the vain effort to establish for ourselves and our households, habits and relations which we can no more import from England than we can import her climate. I have been amused to see some persons trying to live, as to their habits of food and clothing and exercise and exposure, *as they do in England*, and *because they do so in England*. This is of no great consequence. More mischief comes from the endeavor to insist upon English relations, where the effort can produce only continual irritation. Class-rights cannot flourish here. If one of my readers happens to know a man who seeks to treat all within his reach as his servants, and all his servants as slaves, I am sure he knows a very uncomfortable man.

From the servility which looks up, we are pretty well rid. We see it seldom, except in new-comers, who brought the habit with them, and have not yet learned their American lessons. But they learn these lessons very soon. Perhaps they do not learn, perhaps they come to a school where it might, at present, be difficult to learn,

what should take the place of servility when that passes away. The best lover of his country will hope that it may pass away. But he will also hope that as it passes away, a recognition of the rights of others, fidelity to duty, the love of usefulness, and courtesy and kindness and civility will take the place of servility.

Some at home, and more who visit us, complain of the manners of this country. So far as I can judge, our manners are, in the main, good. It is not fair nor reasonable to apply to them the standards of foreign usages or of factitious refinement. The true test is, are they, in general, expressive of a courteous and kind feeling. I think they are. We meet sometimes with coarseness and rudeness; but equally in all classes of society; and in every class it seems to me an exception, and not the rule.

But I am not so well contented with another characteristic of our country. It is the feebleness of the sentiments of Respect and Reverence. It is difficult to speak aright of these topics, and perhaps I ought to distrust my own conclusions. I will only say that I should be glad to see my fellow-citizens treat each other with more Respect; and manifest more respect for many things, and among them, for place, office, function. These exist only for the good of society. This is their end, however imperfectly it be attained, and however it may be concealed or obstructed by self-seeking and self-love in all their various forms. But it is certain that this end must be imperfectly attained, if the rights which belong to them are not honestly acknowledged and Respected.

And so as to Reverence. Of this I would say even less. But the common consent of all times has ever declared that age should be held in Reverence; that the paternal relation should be held in Reverence. I will only ask is a sentiment of this kind very strong and general among us; is it stronger in this generation than in the preceding; was it stronger in that than in its predecessor? I will let others answer. I fear some may answer, it is not strong, and that is well. It is growing weaker, and that too is well.

But all the Reverence I have spoken of is nothing, in

comparison with the Reverence which is due to God. I do not fear an avowal that this Reverence also is a poor and foolish thing ; but I do fear, that in point of fact, it is, in general, a feeble sentiment.

We live in an age of marvellous prosperity ; of an activity of the human intellect and an energy of human action, and a perpetual progress in discoveries and in utilizing discoveries, which has had no precedent in history. But it is also a characteristic of the age, that the idea of God has quite too little distinctness and force in any of the departments of human thought ; and, most of all has this idea disappeared from politics. This word seems to mean at the highest, only a regard for the mere material interests of men ; and, at the lowest, gambling with the minds and passions of men for the cards, and public office or the public purse for the stakes. This condition of things seems to me like one where the Sun is darkened ; a condition in which there is no light from above, and no light but that of the lamps we make, and kindle and feed with our own hands ; a condition, which gives us little reason to hope for much wisdom of opinion, conclusion or action.

Were I to permit myself to dwell on this subject, it would be with especial reference to the godlessness of that spirit of reform, which is so powerful among us. How many good and earnest men I know now active in their conflicts with the demon of Intemperance, and the worse demon of Ignorance, and, to bring the matter nearer to my specific topic, with Slavery itself. Do they seem, generally, to walk and work in the light of the truth that if their work be a good work, it must be God's work ; and that if they would work with Him, they must work as His instruments, and in His own way ? This conviction would leave them zealous to be His instruments ; to do His work ; to hasten the time ; to open the way. But it would cause, I think, a great change in the manner of their working. How much more cautious would their conduct be ; how much kinder their words ; how much less hatred would their words express and excite ; how much more, and how much better, would be their success.

This characteristic of the times seems to me more sad, and more alarming, because never yet was there so much

need of the recognition of God, as at this day, among us. What else can have power to quell the raging storm and bid the heaving sea of passion be still, before it wrecks the best hopes of our country, and of our race.

I will not permit myself to pursue this topic. I will say only, for the few, if there be indeed any, who would follow out this train of thought in their own minds, that, in my judgment, constitutional Republicanism cannot enter upon its completion and consummation, until it becomes a Theocracy; and that it is not, in very fact and deed, advancing towards its completion, when it is not advancing towards this end. Let not those who are startled by this word suppose I mean a restoration of the old Jewish Theocracy. In the Theocracy I desire, the altar will not be built with hands, but will be in the heart; the offerings will be of acknowledgment, obedience, and reverence, and love. The House of God to which we shall go up, to worship our Father and listen to His answers, will be His Word, in which He dwells forever.

And what of the conflict, which I began with saying was in some way caused by slavery? How will it end, and when will it end?

I do not deny that there is much which would lead me to fear that vices and falsities prevail among us, and are so indurated by time and habit and our past prosperity, that we may need a long period of distress and discipline, and may now be only entering upon a cycle of suffering, which in its intensity and in its length will equal the years of our prosperity.

But my hope is stronger than my fear. I think I see much among us that is good, and that is earnestly seeking to be better. Much that shows, that if we have abused our prosperity in part, we have also, in part, used it for our own good and for the world's good. And then I believe that we shall SUCCEED. That Rebellion will be suppressed; that the value and force of our Constitution will be proved; that our loyalty will be enlightened and invigorated; and that by all these means, a firm foundation may be laid for a wider and loftier prosperity than we have yet known.

Mass. Anti-Slavery Socy

THOUGHTS UPON SLAVERY.

May 26 1866



BY THE REV. JOHN WESLEY, A. M.

[The following tract was written and published in the year 1774. It will, therefore, probably be admitted, that Mr. Wesley was an "old fashioned abolitionist;" but how far he differed from those of his followers, who are now proscribed, and denounced as "modern abolitionists," the reader can judge.

And here one might ask, if our opponents of the present age are "old fashioned abolitionists," as some of them would have us believe, why do they not circulate this tract, and thus spread their views? If they agree with Wesley, and others who lived and labored with him sixty years ago, why are they so unwilling that this tract should be circulated among Christians at the present time? Nay, why do they refuse to aid others in dispersing it through this nation, as Wesley himself dispersed it to every part of England, thirteen years after it was written? This we learn from the following letter:—

To Mr. Thomas Funnell.

November 24, 1787.

MY DEAR BROTHER,—Whatever assistance I can give those generous men who join to oppose that execrable trade, I certainly shall give. I have printed a large edition of the "Thoughts on Slavery," and dispersed them to every part of England. But there will be vehement opposition made, both by slave merchants and slave holders; and they are mighty men: but our comfort is, He that dwelleth on high is mightier. I am

Your affectionate brother,

JOHN WESLEY.

Let those who have doubts about the identity of Wesleyan Methodism, and what they are pleased to denounce as "modern abolicnism," prayerfully read the following pages; they may then be prepared to say who have left the ancient landmarks.]

SLAVERY.

I. 1. By Slavery, I mean domestic slavery, or that of a servant to a master. A late ingenious writer well observes, "The variety of forms in which slavery appears, makes it almost impossible to convey a just notion

of it, by way of definition. There are, however, certain properties which have accompanied slavery in most places, whereby it is easily distinguished from that mild, domestic service which obtains in our country." (See Mr. Hargrave's Plea for Somerset the Negro.)

2. Slavery imports an obligation of perpetual service, an obligation which only the consent of the master can dissolve. Neither in some countries can the master himself dissolve it, without the consent of judges appointed by the law. It generally gives the master an arbitrary power of any correction, not effecting life or limb. Sometimes even these are exposed to his will, or protected only by a fine, or some slight punishment, too inconsiderable to restrain a master of a harsh temper. It creates an incapacity of acquiring any thing, except for the master's benefit. It allows the master to alienate the slave, in the same manner as his cows and horses. Lastly, it descends in its full extent from parent to child, even to the last generation.

3. The beginning of this may be dated from the remotest period of which we have an account in history. It commenced in the barbarous state of society, and in process of time spread into all nations. It prevailed particularly among the Jews, the Greeks, the Romans, and the ancient Germans; and was transmitted by them to the various kingdoms and states which arose out of the Roman empire. But after Christianity prevailed, it gradually fell into decline in almost all parts of Europe. This great change began in Spain, about the end of the eighth century; and was become general in most other kingdoms of Europe, before the middle of the fourteenth.

4. From this time slavery was nearly extinct till the commencement of the sixteenth century, when the discovery of America, and of the western and eastern coasts of Africa, gave occasion to the revival of it. It took its rise from the Portuguese, who, to supply the Spaniards with men to cultivate their new possessions in America, procured negroes from Africa, whom they sold for slaves to the American Spaniards. This began in the year 1508, when they imported the first negroes into Hispaniola. In 1540, Charles the Fifth, then king

of Spain, determined to put an end to negro slavery; giving positive orders that all the negro slaves in the Spanish dominions should be set free. And this was accordingly done by Lagasca, whom he sent and empowered to free them all on condition of continuing to labour for their masters. But soon after Lagasca returned to Spain, slavery returned and flourished as before. Afterward, other nations, as they acquired possessions in America, followed the examples of the Spaniards; and slavery has taken deep root in most of our American colonies.

II. Such is the nature of slavery; such the beginning of negro slavery in America. But some may desire to know what kind of country it is from which the negroes are brought; what sort of men, of what temper and behaviour are they in their own country; and in what manner they are generally procured, carried to, and treated in, America.

1. And, First, what kind of country is that from whence they are brought? Is it so remarkably horrid, dreary, and barren, that it is a kindness to deliver them out of it? I believe many have apprehended so; but it is an entire mistake, if we may give credit to those who have lived many years therein, and could have no motive to misrepresent it.

2. That part of Africa whence the negroes are brought, commonly known by the name of Guinea, extends along the coasts, in the whole, between three and four thousand miles. From the river Senegal, seventeen degrees north of the line, to Cape Sierra Leone, it contains seven hundred miles. Thence it runs eastward about fifteen hundred miles, including the Grain Coast, the Ivory Coast, the Gold Coast, and the Slave Coast, with the large kingdom of Benin. From thence it runs southward, about twelve hundred miles, and contains the kingdoms of Congo and Angola.

3. Concerning the first, the Senegal Coast, Monsieur Brue, who lived there sixteen years, after describing its fruitfulness near the sea, says, "The farther you go from the sea, the more fruitful and well-improved is the country, abounding in pulse, Indian corn, and various fruits. Here are vast meadows, which feed large

herds of great and small cattle; and the villages, which lie thick, show the country is well peopled." And again: "I was surprised to see the land so well cultivated: scarce a spot lay unimproved; the low lands, divided by small canals, were all sowed with rice; the higher grounds were planted with Indian corn, and peas of different sorts. Their beef is excellent; poultry plenty, and very cheap, as are all the necessaries of life."

4. As to the Grain and Ivory Coasts, we learn from eye witnessess, that the soil is in general fertile, producing abundance of rice and roots. Indigo and cotton thrive without cultivation; fish is in great plenty; the flocks and herds are numerous, and the trees laden with fruit.

5. The Gold Coast and Slave Coast, all who have seen it agree, is exceeding fruitful and pleasant, producing vast quantities of rice and other grain, plenty of fruit and roots, palm wine and oil, and fish in great abundance, with much tame and wild cattle. The very same account is given us of the soil and produce of the kindoms of Benin, Congo, and Angola. From all which it appears, that Guinea, in general, is far from a horrid, dreary, barren country,—is one of the most fruitful, as well as the most pleasant, countries in the known world. It is said indeed to be unhealthy; and so it is to strangers, but perfectly healthy to the native inhabitants.

6. Such is the country from which the negroes are brought. We come next to inquire what sort of men they are, of what temper and behaviour, not in our plantations, but in their native country. And here likewise the surest way is to take our account from eye and ear witnesses. Now, those who have lived in the Senega country observe, it is inhabited by three nations, the Jalofs, Fulis, and Mandingos. The king of the Jalots has under him several ministers, who assist in the exercise of justice. The chief justice goes in circuit through all his dominions, to hear complaints and determine controversies; and the viceroy goes with him, to inspect the behaviour of the alkadi, or governor, of each village. The Fulis are governed by their chief men, who rule with much moderation. Few of them will drink any thing stronger than water, being strict Mohammedans. The govern

is easy, because the people are of a quiet and disposition, and so well instructed in what is that a man who wrongs another is the abomination of all. They desire no more land than they use, they cultivate with great care and industry: if they are known to be made slaves by the white they all join to redeem them. They not only supply that are old, or blind, or lame among themselves, have frequently supplied the necessities of the Mandingos, when they were distressed by famine.

"The Mandingos," says Monsieur Bruc, "are rigorous Mohammedans, drinking neither wine nor brandy. They are industrious and laborious, keeping their land well cultivated, and breeding a good stock of cattle. Every town has a governor, and he appoints a council about of the people. The men work the ground sown for corn; the women and girls, the rice ground. The governor afterward divides the corn and rice among them; he decides all quarrels, if any arise. All the Mohammedan negroes constantly go to public prayers thrice a week, there being a priest in every village, who regularly calls them together; and it is surprising to see the order, industry, attention, and reverence which they observe in their worship. These three nations practise several trades; they have smiths, saddlers, potters, and carpenters; and they are very ingenious at their several occupations. Their smiths not only make all the instruments of iron which they have occasion to use, but they also make work many things neatly in gold and silver.

Chiefly the women and children who weave fine cotton cloth, which they dye blue and black."

It was of these parts of Guinea that Monsieur Alphonse, correspondent of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, from 1749 to 1753, gives the following account, both as to the country and people:—"Which way ever I turned my eyes, I beheld a perfect image of Paradise: an agreeable solitude, bounded on every side by a charming landscape; the rural situation of cottages in the midst of trees; the ease and quietness of the negroes, reclined under the shade of the spreading trees, with the simplicity of their dress and manners: the scene revived in my mind the idea of our first parents,

and I seemed to contemplate the world in its primitive state. They are, generally speaking, very good-natured, sociable, and obliging. I was not a little pleased with my very first reception; and it fully convinced me, that there ought to be a considerable abatement made in the accounts we have of the savage character of the Africans." He adds: "It is amazing that an illiterate people should reason so pertinently concerning the heavenly bodies. There is no doubt, but that, with proper instruments, they would become excellent astronomers."

9. The inhabitants of the Grain and Ivory Coast are represented by those that deal with them, as sensible, courteous, and the fairest traders on the coasts of Guinea. They rarely drink to excess; if any do, they are severely punished by the king's order. They are seldom troubled with war; if a difference happen between two nations, they commonly end the dispute amicably.

The inhabitants of the Gold and Slave Coast likewise when they are not artfully incensed against each other, live in great union and friendship, being generally well tempered, civil, tractible, and ready to help any that need it. In particular, the natives of the kingdom of Whidah are civil, kind, and obliging to strangers; and they are the most gentleman-like of all the negroes, abounding in good manners toward each other. The inferiors pay the utmost respect to their superiors; so wives to their husbands, children to their parents. And they are remarkably industrious; all are constantly employed,—the men in agriculture, the women in spinning and weaving cotton.

10. The Gold and Slave Coasts are divided into several districts, some governed by kings, others by the principal men, who take care each of their own town or village, and prevent or appease tumults. They punish murder and adultery severely; very frequently with death. Theft and robbery are punished by a fine proportionable to the goods that were taken. All the natives of this coast, though Heathens believe there is one God, the Author of them and all things. They appear likewise to have a confused apprehension of a future state. And, accordingly, every town and village

has a place of public worship. It is remarkable that they have no beggars among them; such is the care of the chief men, in every city and village, to provide some easy labour even for the old and weak. Some are employed in blowing the smiths' bellows; others in pressing palm oil; others in grinding of colours. If they are too weak even for this, they sell provisions in the market.

11. The natives of the kingdom of Benin are a reasonable and good-natured people. They are sincere and inoffensive, and do no injustice either to one another or to strangers. They are eminently civil and courteous: if you make them a present, they endeavour to repay it double; and if they are trusted till the ship returns the next year, they are sure honestly to pay the whole debt. Theft is punished among them, although not with the same severity as murder. If a man and woman of any quality are taken in adultery, they are certain to be put to death, and their bodies thrown on a dung-hill, and left a prey to wild beasts. They are punctually just and honest in their dealings; and are also very charitable, the king and the great lords taking care to employ all that are capable of any work. And those that are utterly helpless they keep for God's sake; so that here also are no beggars. The inhabitants of Congo and Angola are generally a quiet people. They discover a good understanding, and behave in a friendly manner to strangers, being of a mild temper and an affable carriage. Upon the whole, therefore, the negroes who inhabit the coast of Africa, from the river Senegal to the southern bounds of Angola, are so far from being the stupid, senseless, brutish, lazy barbarians, the fierce, cruel, perfidious savages they had been described, that, on the contrary, they are represented, by them who have no motive to flatter them, as remarkably sensible, considering the few advantages they have for improving their understanding; as industrious to the highest degree, perhaps more so than any other natives of so warm a climate; as fair, just, and honest in all their dealings, unless where white men have taught them to be otherwise; and as far more mild, friendly, and kind to strangers, than any of our forefathers were *Our forefathers!* Where

shall we find at this day, among the fair-faced natives of Europe, a nation generally practising the justice, mercy, and truth, which are found among these poor Africans? Suppose the preceding accounts are true, (which I see no reason or pretence to doubt of,) and we may leave England and France, to seek genuine honesty in Benin, Congo, or Angola.

III. We have now seen what kind of country it is from which the negroes are brought; and what sort of men (even white men being the judges) they were in their own country. Inquire we, Thirdly, In what manner are they generally procured, carried to, and treated in, America?

1. First. In what manner are they procured? Part of them by fraud. Captains of ships, from time to time, have invited negroes to come on board, and then carried them away. But far more have been procured by force. The Christians, landing upon their coasts, seized as many as they found, men, women, and children, and transported them to America. It was about 1551 that the English began trading to Guinea; at first, for gold and elephants' teeth, but soon after, for men. In 1556, Sir John Hawkins sailed with two ships to Cape Verd, where he sent eighty men on shore to catch negroes. But the natives flying, they fell farther down, and there set the men on shore, "to burn their towns and take the inhabitants." But they met with such resistance, that they had seven men killed, and took but ten negroes. So they went still farther down, till, having taken enough, they proceeded to the West Indies and sold them.

2. It was some time before the Europeans found more compendious way of procuring African slaves, by prevailing upon them to make war upon each other, and to sell their prisoners. Till then they seldom had any wars; but were in general quiet and peaceable. But the white men first taught them drunkenness and avarice, and then hired them to sell one another. Nay, by this means, even their kings are induced to sell their own subjects. So Mr. Moore, factor of the African Company in 1730, informs us: "When the king of Barsalli wants goods or brandy, he sends to the English governor at James' Fort, who immediately sends a sloop. Against

the time it arrives, he plunders some of his neighbours' towns, selling the people for the goods he wants. At other times he falls upon one of his own towns, and makes bold to sell his own subjects." So Monsieur Brue says, "I wrote to the king," (not the same,) "if he had a sufficient number of slaves, I would treat with him. He seized three hundred of his own people, and sent word he was ready to deliver them for the goods." He adds "Some of the natives are always ready" (when well paid) "to surprise and carry off their own countrymen. They come at night without noise, and if they find any lone cottage, surround it and carry off all the people." Barbot, another French factor says, "Many of the slaves sold by the negroes are prisoners of war, or taken in the incursions they make into their enemies' territories. Others are stolen. Abundance of little blacks of both sexes, are stolen away by their neighbours, when found abroad on the road, or in the woods, or else in the corn fields, at the time of year when their parents keep them there all day to scare away the devouring birds." That their own parents sell them is utterly false: whites, not blacks, are without natural affection!

3. To set the manner wherein negroes are procured in a yet stronger light, it will suffice to give an extract of "Two voyages to Guinea" on this account. The first is taken verbatim from the original manuscript of the surgeon's journal:—

"Sestro, Dec. 29, 1724.--No trade to-day, though many traders came on board. They informed us, that the people are gone to war within land, and will bring prisoners enough in two or three days; in hopes of which we stay.

"The 30th.—No trade yet; but our traders come on board to-day, and informed us the people had burnt four towns; so that to-morrow we expect slaves off.

"The 31.—Fair weather; but no trading yet. We see each night towns burning. But we hear many of the Sestro men are killed by the inland negroes; so that we fear this war will be unsuccessful.

"The 2d of January.—Last night we saw a prodigious fire break out about eleven o'clock, and this mor-

ning see the town of Sestro burned down to the ground." (It contained some hundred houses.) "So that we find their enemies are too hard for them at present, and consequently our trade spoiled here. Therefore about seven o'clock we weighed anchor, to proceed lower down."

4. The second extract, taken from the journal of a surgeon, who went from New-York on the same trade, is as follows: "The commander of the vessel sent to acquaint the king, that he wanted a cargo of slaves. The king promised to furnish him; and in order to it, set out, designing to surprise some town, and make all the people prisoners. Some time after, the king sent him word, he had not yet met with the desired success; having attempted to break up two towns, but having been twice repulsed; but that he still hoped to procure the number of slaves. In this design he persisted, till he met his enemies in the field. A battle was fought which lasted three days. And the engagement was so bloody, that four thousand five hundred men were slain upon the spot." Such is the manner wherein the negroes are procured! Thus the Christians preach the Gospel to the Heathens!

5. Thus they are procured But in what numbers and in what manner are they carried to America? Mr. Anderson, in his History of Trade and Commerce, observes: "England supplies her American colonies with negro slaves, amounting in number to about a hundred thousand every year;" that is, so many are taken on board our ships; but at least ten thousand of them die in the voyage; about a fourth part more die at the different islands, in what is called the seasoning. So that at an average, in the passage and seasoning together, thirty thousand die; that is, properly, are murdered. O earth, O sea, cover not thou their blood!

6. When they are brought down to the shore in order to be sold, our surgeons thoroughly examine them, and that quite naked, women and men, without any distinction; those that are approved are set on one side. In the mean time, a burning iron, with the arms or name of the company, lies in the fire, with which they are marked on the breast. Before they are put into the

ships, their masters strip them of all they have on their backs: so that they come on board stark naked, women as well as men. It is common for several hundred of them to be put on board one vessel, where they are stowed together in as little room as it is possible for them to be crowded. It is easy to suppose what a condition they must soon be in, between heat, thirst, and stench of various kinds. So that it is no wonder, so many should die in the passage; but rather, that any survive it.

7. When the vessels arrive at their destined port, the negroes are again exposed naked to the eyes of all that flock together, and the examination of their purchasers. Then they are separated to the plantations of their several masters, to see each other no more. Here you may see mothers hanging over their daughters, bedewing their naked breasts with tears, and daughters clinging to their parents, till the whipper soon obliges them to part.* And what can be more wretched than the condition they then enter upon? Banished from their country, from their friends and relations for ever, from every comfort of life, they are reduced to a state scarce any way preferable to that of beasts of burden. In general, a few roots, not of the nicest kind, usually yams or potatoes, are their food; and two rags, that neither screen them from the heat of the day, nor the cold of the night, their covering. Their sleep is very short, their labour continual, and frequently above their strength; so that death sets many of them at liberty before they have lived out half their days. The time they work in the West Indies, is from day break to noon, and from two o'clock till dark; during which time they are attended by overseers, who, if they think them dilatory, or think any thing not so well done as it should be, whip them most unmercifully, so that you may see their bodies long after wealed and scarred usually from the shoulders to the waist. And before they are suffered to go to their quarters, they have commonly something to do, as collecting herbage for the horses, or gathering fuel for the

* These scenes occur almost daily at the present time in the United States, in the prosecution of the domestic slave trade. It is estimated that Virginia alone exports to the Southern and Western markets TEN THOUSAND SLAVES annually. Reader, woe of the anguish and tears this must cause! -Pub. Committee.

boilers; so that it is often past twelve before they can get home. Hence if their food is not prepared, they are sometimes called to labour again, before they can satisfy their hunger. And no excuse will avail. If they are not in the field immediately they must expect to feel the lash. Did the Creator intend that the noblest creatures in the visible world should live such a life as this?

Are these thy glorious work, Parent of good?

8. As to the punishments inflicted on them, says Sir Hans Sloane, "they frequently geld them, or chop off half a foot: after they are whipped till they are raw all over, some put pepper and salt upon them; some drop melted wax upon their skin; others cut off their ears, and constrain them to broil and eat them. For rebellion," (that is, asserting their native liberty, which they have as much right to as to the air they breathe,) "they fasten them down to the ground with crooked sticks on every limb, and then applying fire, by degrees, to the feet and hands, they burn them gradually upward to the head."

9. But will not the laws made in the plantations prevent or redress all cruelty and oppression? We will take but few of those laws for a specimen, and then let any man judge:—

In order to rivet the chain of slavery, the law of Virginia ordains: "That no slave shall be set free under any pretence whatever, except for some meritorious services, to be adjudged and allowed by the governor and council; and that where any slave shall be set free by his owner, otherwise than is herein directed, the churchwardens of the parish, wherein such negro shall reside for the space of one month, are hereby authorized and required to take up and sell the said negro by public outcry."

10. Will not these lawgivers take effectual care to prevent cruelty and oppression?

The law of Jamacia ordains: "Every slave that shall run away, and continue absent from his master twelve months, shall be deemed rebellious." And by another law fifty pounds are allowed to those who kill or bring in alive a rebellious slave. So their law treats these poor men with as little ceremony and consideration, as if they

were merely brute beasts! But the innocent blood which is shed in consequence of such a detestable law, must call for vengeance on the murderous abettors and actors of such deliberate wickedness.

11. But the law of Barbadoes exceeds even this: "If any negro under punishment, by his master, or his order, for running away, or any other crime or misdemeanor, shall suffer in life or member, no person whatsoever shall be liable to any fine therefore. But if any man, of wantonness, or only of bloody-mindedness, or cruel intention, wilfully kill a negro of his own," (now, observe the severe punishment!) "he shall pay into the public treasury fifteen pounds sterling! and not be liable to any other punishment or forfeiture for the same!"

Nearly allied to this is that law of Virginia: "After proclamation is issued against slaves that run away, it is lawful for any person whatsoever to kill and destroy such slaves, by such ways and means as he shall think fit."

We have seen already some of the ways and means which have been thought fit on such occasions; and many more might be mentioned. One gentleman, when I was abroad, thought fit to roast his slave alive! But if the most natural act of "running away" from intolerable tyranny, deserves such relentless severity, what punishment have these lawmakers to expect hereafter, on account of their own enormous offences?

IV. 1. This is the plain, unaggravated matter of fact. Such is the manner wherein our African slaves are procured; such the manner wherein they are removed from their native land, and wherein they are treated in our plantations. I would now inquire, whether these things can be defended, on the principles of even Heathen honesty; whether they can be reconciled (setting the Bible out of the question) with any degree of either justice or mercy.

2. The grand plea is, "They are authorized by law." But can law, human law, change the nature of things? Can it turn darkness into light, or evil into good? By no means. *Notwithstanding ten thousand laws, right is right, and wrong is wrong still.* There must still remain an essential difference between justice and injustice, cruelty and mercy. So that I still ask,

Who can reconcile this treatment of the negroes, first and last, with either mercy or justice?

Where is the justice of inflicting the severest evils on those that have done us no wrong? of depriving those that never injured us in word or deed, of every comfort of life? of tearing them from their native country, and depriving them of liberty itself, to which an Angolan has the same natural right as an Englishman, and on which he sets as high a value? Yea, where is the justice of taking away the lives of innocent, inoffensive men; murdering thousands of them in their own land, by the hands of their own countrymen; many thousands, year after year, on shipboard, and then casting them like dung into the sea; and tens of thousands in that cruel slavery to which they are so unjustly reduced?

3. But waiving, for the present, all other considerations, I strike at the root of this complicated villainy, *I absolutely deny all slave holding to be consistent with any degree of natural justice.*

I cannot place this in a clearer light than that great ornament of his profession, Judge Blackstone, has already done. Part of his words are as follows:—

“The three origins of the right of slavery assigned by Justinian, are all built upon false foundations : (1.) Slavery is said to arise from captivity in war. The conqueror having a right to the life of his captive, if he spares that, has then a right to deal with him as he pleases. But this is untrue, if taken generally,—that, by the laws of nations, a man has a right to kill his enemy. He has only a right to kill him in particular cases, in cases of absolute necessity for self-defence. And it is plain, this absolute necessity did not subsist, since he did not kill him, but made him prisoner. War itself is justifiable only on principles of self-preservation : therefore it gives us no right over prisoners, but to hinder their hurting us by confining them. Much less can it give a right to torture, or kill, or even to enslave an enemy when the war is over. Since therefore the right of making our prisoners slaves, depends on a supposed right of slaughter, that foundation failing, the consequence which is drawn from it must fail likewise.

“It is said, Secondly, slavery may begin by one man's selling himself to another. And it is true, a man may sell himself to work for another ; but he cannot sell himself to be a slave, as above defined. Every sale implies an equiv-

alent given to the seller, in lieu of what he transfers to the buyer. But what equivalent can be given for life or liberty? His property likewise, with the very price which he seems to receive, devolves *ipso facto* to his master, the instant he becomes his slave: in this case, therefore, the buyer gives nothing, and the seller receives nothing. Of what validity then can a sale be, which destroys the very principle upon which all sales are founded?

"We are told, Thirdly, that men may be born slaves,* by being the children of slaves. But this, being built upon the two former rights, must fall together with them. If neither captivity nor contract can, by the plain law of nature and reason, reduce the parent to a state of slavery, much less can they reduce the offspring." It clearly follows, that all slavery is as irreconcilable to justice as to mercy.

4. That slave holding is utterly inconsistent with mercy, is almost too plain to need a proof. Indeed, it is said, "that these negroes being prisoners of war, our captains and factors buy them, merely to save them from being put to death. And is not this mercy?" I answer, (1.) Did Sir John Hawkins, and many others, seize upon men, women, and children, who were at peace in their own fields or houses, merely to save them from death? (2.) Was it to save them from death, that they knocked out the brains of those they could not bring away? (3.) Who occasioned and fomented those wars, wherein these poor creatures were taken prisoners? Who excited them by money, by drink, by every possible means, to fall upon one another? Was it not themselves? They know in their own conscience it was, if they have any conscience left. But, (4.) To bring the matter to a short issue, can they say before God, that they ever took a single voyage, or bought a single negro, from this motive? They cannot; they well know, to get money, not to save lives, was the whole and sole spring of their motions.

5. But if this manner of procuring and treating negroes is not consistent either with mercy or justice, yet there is a plea for it which every man of business will acknowledge to be quite sufficient. Fifty years ago, one meeting an eminent statesman in the lobby of the house of commons, said, "You have been long talking

* See our Declaration of Independence

about justice and equity. Pray which is this bill, equity or justice?" He answered very short and plain, "D—n justice; it is necessity." Here also the slave holder fixes his foot; here he rests the strength of his cause. "If it is not quite right, yet it must be so; there is an absolute necessity for it. It is necessary we should procure slaves; and when we have procured them, it is necessary to use them with severity, considering their stupidity, stubbornness, and wickedness."

I answer, you stumble at the threshold; I deny that villainy is ever necessary. It is impossible that it should ever be necessary for any reasonable creature to violate all the laws of justice, mercy, and truth. No circumstances can make it necessary for a man to burst in sunder all the ties of humanity. It can never be necessary for a rational being to sink himself below a brute. A man can be under no necessity of degrading himself into a wolf. The absurdity of the supposition is so glaring, that one would wonder any one can help seeing it.

6. This in general. But to be more particular, I ask, First, What is necessary? and, Secondly, To what end? It may be answered, "The whole method now used by the original purchasers of negroes is necessary to the furnishing our colonies yearly with a hundred thousand slaves." I grant, this is necessary to that end. But how is that end necessary? How will you prove it necessary that one hundred, that one, of those slaves should be procured? "Why, it is necessary to my gaining a hundred thousand pounds." Perhaps so: but how is this necessary? It is very possible you might be both a better and a happier man, if you had not a quarter of it. I deny that your gaining one thousand is necessary either to your present or eternal happiness. "But, however, you must allow, these slaves are necessary for the cultivation of our islands; inasmuch as white men are not able to labour in hot climates." I answer, First, *It were better that all those islands should remain uncultivated for ever; yea, it were more desirable that they were altogether sunk in the depth of the sea, than that they should be cultivated at so high a price as the violation of justice, mercy, and truth.* But, Secondly, The supposi-

ion on which you ground your argument is false. For white men, even Englishmen, are well able to labour in hot climates; provided they are temperate both in meat and drink, and that they inure themselves to it by degrees. I speak no more than I know by experience. It appears from the thermometer, that the summer heat in Georgia is frequently equal to that in Barbadoes, yea, so that under the line. And yet I and my family (eight in number) did employ all our spare time there, in felling of trees and clearing of ground, as hard labour as any negro need be employed in. The German family, likewise, forty in number, were employed in all manner of labour. And this was so far from impairing our health, that we all continued perfectly well, while the idle ones round about us were swept away as with a pestilence. It is not true, therefore, that white men are not able to labour, even in hot climates, full as well as black. *But if they were not, it would be better that none should labour there, that the work should be left undone, than that myriads of innocent men should be murdered, and myriads more dragged into the basest slavery.*

7. "But the furnishing us with slaves is necessary for the trade, and wealth, and glory of our nation." Here are several mistakes. For, First, wealth is not necessary to the glory of any nation; but wisdom, virtue, justice, mercy, generosity, public spirit, love of our country. These are necessary to the real glory of a nation; but abundance of wealth is not. Men of understanding allow that the glory of England was full as high in Queen Elisabeth's time as it is now; although our riches and trade were then as much smaller, as our virtue was greater. But, Secondly, it is not clear that we should have either less money or trade, (only less of that detestable trade of man-stealing,) if there was not a negro in all our islands, or in all English America. It is demonstrable, white men, inured to it by degrees, can work as well as them; and they would do it, were negroes out of the way, and proper encouragement given them. However, Thirdly, I come back to the same point: Better no trade than trade procured by villainy. It is far better to have no wealth, than to gain wealth at the expense of virtue. *Better is honest*

poverty, than all the riches bought by the tears, and sweat and blood, of our fellow creatures.

8. "However this be, it is necessary, when we have slaves, to use them with severity." What, to whip them for every petty offence, till they are all in gore blood? to take that opportunity of rubbing pepper and salt into their raw flesh? to drop burning sealing wax upon their skin? to castrate them? to cut off half their foot with an axe? to hang them on gibbets, that they may die by inches, with heat, and hunger, and thirst? to pin them down to the ground, and then burn them by degrees, from the feet to the head? to roast them alive? When did a Turk or a Heathen find it necessary to use a fellow creature thus?

I pray, to what end is this usage necessary? "Why, to prevent their running away; and to keep them constantly to their labour, that they may not idle away their time: So miserably stupid is this race of men, yea, so stubborn, and so wicked." Allowing them to be as stupid as you say, to whom is that stupidity owing? Without question, it lies altogether at the door of their inhuman masters; who give them no means, no opportunity, of improving their understanding; and, indeed, leave them no motive, either from hope or fear, to attempt any such thing. They were no way remarkable for stupidity while they remained in their own country: The inhabitants of Africa, where they have equal motives and equal means of improvement, are not inferior to the inhabitants of Europe; to some of them they are greatly superior. Impartially survey, in their own country, the natives of Benin, and the natives of Lapland; compare (setting prejudice aside) the Samoeids and the Angolans; and on which side does the advantage lie, in point of understanding? Certainly the African is in no respect inferior to the European. Their stupidity, therefore, in our plantations is not natural; otherwise than it is the natural effect of their condition. Consequently, it is not their fault, but yours: You must answer for it, before God and man.

9. "But their stupidity is not the only reason of our treating them with severity. For it is hard to say, which is the greatest this or their stubbornness and

wickedness." It may be so: But do not these, as well as the other, lie at your door? Are not stubbornness, cunning, pilfering, and divers other vices, the natural, necessary fruits of slavery? Is not this an observation which has been made in every age and nation? And what means have you used to remove this stubbornness? Have you tried what mildness and gentleness would do? I knew one that did; that had prudence and patience to make the experiment; Mr. Hugh Bryan, who then lived on the borders of South Carolina. And what was the effect? Why, that all his negroes (and he had no small number of them) loved and revered him as a father, and cheerfully obeyed him out of love. Yea, they were more afraid of a frown from him, than of many blows from an overseer. And what pains have you taken, what method have you used, to reclaim them from their wickedness? Have you carefully taught them, that there is a God, a wise, powerful, merciful Being, the Creator and Governor of heaven and earth? that he has appointed a day wherein he will judge the world, will take an account of all our thoughts, words, and actions? that in that day he will reward every child of man according to his works? that then the righteous shall inherit the kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the world; and the wicked shall be cast into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels? If you have not done this, if you have taken no pains or thought about the matter, can you wonder at their wickedness? What wonder, if they should cut your throat? And if they did, whom could you thank for it but yourself? *You first acted the villain in making them slaves, whether you stole them or bought them.* You kept them stupid and wicked, by cutting them off from all opportunities of improving either in knowledge or virtue: And now you assign their want of wisdom and goodness as the reason for using them worse than brute beasts!

V. 1. It remains only to make a little application of the preceding observations. But to whom should that application be made? That may bear a question. Should we address ourselves to the public at large? What effect can this have? It may inflame the world.

against the guilty, but is not likely to remove that guilt. Should we appeal to the English nation in general? This also is striking wide; and is never likely to procure any redress for the sore evil we complain of. As little would it in all probability avail, to apply to the parliament. So many things, which seem of greater importance, lie before them, that they are not likely to attend to this. I therefore add a few words to those who are more immediately concerned, whether captains, merchants, or planters.

2. And, First, to the captains employed in this trade. Most of you know the country of Guinea; several parts of it, at least, between the river Senegal and the kingdom of Angola. Perhaps, now, by your means part of it is become a dreary, uncultivated wilderness, the inhabitants being all murdered or carried away, so that there are none left to till the ground. But you well know how populous, how fruitful, how pleasant it was a few years ago. You know, the people were not stupid, not wanting in sense, considering the few means of improvement they enjoyed. Neither did you find them savage, fierce, cruel, treacherous, or unkind to strangers. On the contrary, they were, in most parts, a sensible and ingenious people. They were kind and friendly, courteous and obliging, and remarkably fair and just in their dealings. Such are the men whom you hire their own countrymen to tear away from this lovely country; part by stealth, part by force, part made captives in those wars which you raise or foment on purpose. You have seen them torn away,—children from their parents, parents from their children; husbands from their wives, wives from their beloved husbands, brethren and sisters from each other. You have dragged them who had never done you any wrong, perhaps in chains, from their native shore. You have forced them into your ships like a herd of swine,—them who had souls immortal as your own; only some of them leaped into the sea, and resolutely stayed under water, till they could suffer no more from you. You have stowed them together as close as ever they could lie, without any regard either to decency or convenience. And when many of them had been poisoned by foul air,

or had sunk under various hardships, you have seen their remains delivered to the deep, till the sea should give up his dead. You have carried the survivors into the vilest slavery, never to end but with life; such slavery as is not found among the Turks at Algiers, no, nor among the Heathens in America.

3. May I speak plainly to you? I must. Love constrains me; love to you, as well as to those you are concerned with.

Is there a God? You know there is. Is he a just God? Then there must be a state of retribution; a state wherein the just God will reward every man according to his works. Then what reward will he render to you? O think betimes! before you drop into eternity! Think now, "He shall have judgment without mercy that showed no mercy."

Are you a man? Then you should have a human heart. But have you indeed? What is your heart made of? Is there no such principle as compassion there? Do you never feel another's pain? Have you no sympathy, no sense of human woe, no pity for the miserable? When you saw the flowing eyes, the heaving breasts, or the bleeding sides and tortured limbs of your fellow creatures, was you a stone, or a brute? Did you look upon them with the eyes of a tiger? When you squeezed the agonizing creatures down in the ship, or when you threw their poor mangled remains into the sea, had you no relenting? Did not one tear drop from your eye, one sigh escape from your breast? Do you feel no relenting now? If you do not, you must go on, till the measure of your iniquities is full. Then will the great God deal with you as you have dealt with them, and require all their blood at your hands. And at "that day it shall be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah than for you!" But if your heart does relent, though in a small degree, know it is a call from the God of love. And "to-day, if you will hear his voice, harden not your heart." To-day resolve, God being your helper, to escape for your life. Regard not money! All that a man hath will he give for his life! Whatever you lose, lose not your soul: nothing can countervail that loss. Immediately quit the horrid trade: at all events, be an honest man

4. This equally concerns every merchant who is engaged in the slave trade. It is you that induce the African villain to sell his countrymen; and in order thereto, to steal, rob, murder men, women, and children without number, by enabling the English villain to pay him for so doing, whom you overpay for his execrable labour. It is your money that is the spring of all, that empowers him to go on: so that whatever he or the African does in this matter is all your act and deed. And is your conscience quite reconciled to this? Does it never reproach you at all? Has gold entirely blinded your eyes, and stupified your heart? Can you see, can you feel, no harm therein? Is it doing as you would be done to? Make the case your own. "Master," said a slave at Liverpool to the merchant that owned him, "what, if some of my countrymen were to come here, and take away my mistress, and Master Tommy, and Master Billy, and carry them into our country, and make them slaves, how would you like it?" His answer was worthy of a man: "I will never buy a slave more while I live," O let his resolution be yours! Have no more any part in this detestable business. Instantly leave it to those unfeeling wretches, who

Laugh at human nature and compassion!

Be you a man, not a wolf, a devourer of the human species! Be merciful, that you may obtain mercy!

5. And this equally concerns every gentleman that has an estate in our American plantations; yea, all slave holders, of whatever rank and degree; *seeing men buyers are exactly on a level with men stealers*. Indeed you say, "I pay honestly for my goods; and I am not concerned to know how they are come by." Nay, but you are; you are deeply concerned to know they are honestly come by. Otherwise you are a partaker with a thief, and are not a jot honestest than him. But you know they are not honestly come by; you know they are procured by means nothing near so innocent as picking of pockets, house breaking, or robbery upon the highway. You know they are procured by a deliberate series of more complicated villainy (of fraud, robbery, and murder) than was ever practised either by Mohammedans or Pagans; in particular, by murders, of all kinds; by

the blood of the innocent poured upon the ground like water. Now, it is your money that pays the merchant, and through him the captain and the African butchers. You therefore are guilty, yea, principally guilty, of all these frauds, robberies, and murders. You are the spring that puts all the rest in motion; they would not stir a step without you; therefore, the blood of all these wretches who die before their time, whether in their country or elsewhere, lies upon your head. "The blood of thy brother" (for, whether thou wilt believe it or no, such he is in the sight of Him that made him) "crieth against thee from the earth," from the ship, and from the waters. O, whatever it costs, put a stop to its cry before it be too late: instantly, at any price, were it the half of your goods, deliver thyself from blood guiltiness! Thy hands, thy bed, thy furniture, thy house, thy lands, are at present stained with blood. Surely it is enough; accumulate no more guilt; spill no more the blood of the innocent! Do not hire another to shed b'ood; do not pay him for doing it! Whether you are a Christian or no, shew yourself a man! Be not more savage than a lion or a bear! •

6. Perhaps you will say, "I do not buy any negroes; I only use those left me by my father." So far is well; but is it enough to satisfy your own conscience? *Had your father, have you, has any man living, a right to use another as a slave? It cannot be, even setting Revelation aside.* It cannot be, that either war, or contract, can give any man such a property in another as he has in his sheep and oxen. Much less is it possible that any child of man should ever be born a slave. Liberty is the right of every human creature; as soon as he breathes the vital air; *and no human law can deprive him of that right which he derives from the law of nature.*

If, therefore, you have any regard to justice, (to say nothing of mercy, nor the revealed law of God,) render unto all their due. Give liberty to whom liberty is due, that is, to every child of man, to every partaker of human nature. Let none serve you but by his own act and deed, by his own voluntary choice. Away with all whips, all chains, all compulsion! Be gentle toward all men; and see that you invariably do unto every one as you would he should do unto you

7. O thou God of love, thou who art loving to every man, and whose mercy is over all thy works; thou who art the Father of the spirits of all flesh, and who art rich in mercy unto all; thou who hast mingled of one blood all the nations upon earth; have compassion upon these cutcasts of men, who are trodden down as dung upon the earth! Arise, and help these that have no helper, whose blood is spilt upon the ground like water! Are not these also the work of thine own hands, the purchase of thy Son's blood? Stir them up to cry unto thee in the land of their captivity; and let their complaint come up before thee; let it enter into thy ears! Make even those that lead them away captive to pity them, and turn their captivity as the rivers in the south. O burst thou all their chains in sunder; more especially the chains of their sins! Thou Saviour of all, make them free, that they may be free indeed!

The servile progeny of Ham
Seize as the purchase of thy blood!
Let all the Heathens know thy name:
From idols to the living God
The dark Americans convert,
And shine in every Pagan heart!

London, Feb. 26, 1791.

Dear Sir,—Unless the Divine power has raised you up to be as *Athanasius contra mundum*, [Athanasius against the world,] I see not how you can go through your glorious enterprise, in opposing that execrable villainy, which is the scandal of religion, of England, and of human nature. Unless God has raised you up for this very thing, you will be worn out by the opposition of men and devils. But, “if God be for you, who can be against you?” Are all of them together stronger than God? O “be not weary in well doing!” Go on, in the name of God, and in the power of his might, till even American slavery (the vilest that ever saw the sun) shall vanish away before it.

Reading this morning a tract, wrote by a poor African, I was particularly struck by that circumstance,—that a man who has a black skin, being wronged or outraged by a white man, can have no redress; it being a law, in all our colonies, that the oath of a black against a white goes for nothing.* What villainy is this!

That He who has guided you from your youth up, may continue to strengthen you in this and all things, is the prayer of, dear sir,

Your affectionate servant,

JOHN WESLEY.

This letter is supposed to have been addressed to Mr. Willburforce, and, as its date shows, was written by Mr. Wesley only four days before his death.—Ed. [of the Methodist Book Room.]

* The slave laws in our country are nearly the same that they were in Wesley's day. For about the last 20 years, however, they have in general been growing more and more oppressive. This is owing chiefly to the increasing light of the age.—The more light there is round the slave, the greater the pressure requisite to keep down the upward tendencies of his intellect, as knowledge and slavery are incompatible. The searcher after truth on this subject is referred to *Strouds collection of slave laws*.

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ADDRESS ON SLAVERY.

DELIVERED IN DANVERS, MASS.,

BY

DANIEL FOSTER,

PASTOR OF THE FREE EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF NORTH DANVERS,

IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE REQUEST OF THE VOTERS OF DANVERS.

B O S T O N :

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BOSTON, SEPT. 29, 1849.

AT a meeting of the Wesleyan Church in this city, held on the evening of the 27th September, the following Resolutions were introduced by the Pastor, Rev. Mr. Stockman; discussed by William Blakemore, William Holmes, Dr. Fininley, and others, and unanimously adopted.

RESOLVED, That the unfeigned and earnest thanks of this Church are due to the Rev. Mr. Foster, for the elaborate, eloquent and *just* Discourse delivered by him to this Church and Society, last Sabbath evening, on the subject of American Slavery.

RESOLVED, That Rev. Mr. Foster be respectfully and earnestly requested to publish the above named Discourse.

A D D R E S S .

Fellow-Members of our Common Brotherhood:

I COME before you on this occasion, to perform a most important duty, in answer to your own request. In common courtesy, therefore, you will feel bound to give me an attentive hearing. But there is no occasion, at this day and in this town, for an earnest and a loving brother to ask your *courtesy*, when addressing you upon the momentous theme on which you seek a word of counsel from me. You feel an absorbing interest in the subject of American Slavery. You know that in the question of its extinction or continuance, as a social institution in our country, are involved this nation's salvation or ruin; — our future destiny of steady and glorious advancement in the Social Brotherhood of mankind, moving ever on in the van of human improvement, and of human happiness; or of retrograde and swift descent from our exalted social position, down the broad path of national injustice, into the burning retribution which assuredly awaits the nation that persists in wrong doing, and into which so many disobedient, proud, and oppressive empires and kingdoms of the past have gone down to rise no more.

We are enlisted and engaged in a momentous, far-reaching controversy — the great warfare of this age — wide as the world in its range, lasting as eternity in its destined results. The great question

now at issue is, shall the principles of the Gospel of Christ, i. e., Universal Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality; liberty of conscience, will, and judgment in serving God; liberty of choice in the duties of the social state; fraternity of feeling towards all men; the practical and unfailing acknowledgment of the Brotherhood of mankind in Jesus Christ, and equality in all the social privileges of this brotherhood,—shall these glorious and heavenly principles of redeeming love become the universal law of men, or shall the abhorrent principle of despotism secure the control of the world, and crush beneath its iron heel the bleeding heart of ruined humanity?

Ages of preparation for this momentous struggle have passed, and *we*, the living actors of the present hour, are enlisted on the right or on the wrong side. There is no neutral ground for us. We are enrolled on the side of human progress; and, under the banner of heavenly love, dyed in the blood of the Captain of our salvation, we are contending for the world's redemption and salvation; or in the ranks of the enemy of man, we are aiding to bind upon the soul the chains of ignorance and degradation, and to fetter the toiling millions of earth in the bondage of want and unrequited toil.

Society is in a transforming state. Each day brings forth wonderful, startling change. The past two years are crowded with revolutions and uprisings of the oppressed sons and daughters of toil, which would have marked *centuries* of the past with an enduring interest. It is but yesterday, as it were, since the ablest and most selfish of European monarchs sat on the throne of France, secure, as he thought, through eighteen years of undisturbed possession of his place of power, and guarded by one hundred thousand bayonets. He fancied himself invincible in resources of wisdom and power, and in the mistaken consciousness of resistless might, the

old despot threw himself in the way of the on-rolling car of human progress. Louis Philippe lost throne, home and birthright, in the vain attempt to chain Humanity. He is now a poor exile from home—powerless and forgotten. May God in like manner confound all the oppressors of mankind!

As in France, aspiring freedom and social love strive against grinding tyranny and social hatred, so in the world at large, the day of decisive issue is dawning between Hate and Love, Right and Wrong, Freedom and Bondage. The *decision* of this controversy is at hand, and will mark the age that shall witness it with an interest—an importance—unparalleled in the ages of the past. But, my friends, in no other country can so much and so speedily be done, for the universal triumph of Truth and Right, as in our own beloved land. And no where else can so much be done to shroud the earth in mourning, at the downfall of Truth and Right, as *here and now*. We exert an inevitable and most important influence in the decision of the one transcendent question, on the right and speedy settlement of which depends, more or less intimately, the well-being of all men. That question is, "Shall slavery be extended and perpetuated in our land, giving over society to the desolation of unrestrained selfishness? Or shall slavery be walled in and extirpated, root and branch, and society be brought under the saving power of righteousness, love and universal good will?"

In the mind of the true patriot, philanthropist and Christian, this question must take precedence in this country of all other questions. In the settlement of the great principle now at issue between American slavery and American justice, is involved every conceivable interest of country, humanity, and Christianity. Let the slave-power triumph and make our land the permanent home of its whips, and chains, and branding-irons, and to love such a country, or

pray for her prosperity, would be a deadly sin. True patriotism would die in our midst. Philanthropy could only weep and wail in heart-breaking woe, over a crushed and hopeless Humanity. Christianity could no more survive the blighting influence of slavery, were *it* to become the controlling power of our country, than you could live in the sea of fire which surges in the bowels of Etna. But let simple justice and right be done, let the heavenly principle of the Gospel of Christ,—to mete out to others the measure we desire for ourselves,—prevail with a controlling influence. Under this blessed influence, let slavery be peaceably abolished, and all oppression give way to Christian liberty, fraternity and equality, and *then* a bright day of national honor, peace, prosperity, and progress, of philanthropic love and good will,—of true practical, holy and heavenly Christianity, would dawn upon our land. Yea, more ; in the light of that glorious day of love, should all the nations of the earth be made glad, and the sons of God, the seraphs of heaven, the holy servants of the Most High, joining with the sons of men, should fill the universe with the olden song—

“ Glory to God on High,
Peace and good will to man below.”

I know not how any one can fail to perceive that *this* question involves issues far more momentous than *any* other question, which now lays hold upon an awakened public mind. The good man must show by his conduct in this matter, the holy principle by which he is governed and impelled to take his fortune, not on the side of the oppressor, the slaveholder, but on the side of the victim, the slave, and with his fettered brother.

In the present most important crisis, the patriot must stake all, in the great endeavor to deliver his home and country from the inevitable and fearful

desolation which will surely come upon our land, if the accursed system of human bondage be not speedily and utterly overthrown. If your watch and your toil be not against the slaveholder and for the slave, then verily you are the enemy and the betrayer, not the friend and savior of your country.

The Christian's first and most sacred duty in the vineyard of his Lord, *now*, is to succor and save his bleeding brother in bonds, to put the ban of deep abhorrence and reprobation upon the sin of slaveholding and slaveholding support, and to provide a secure asylum, where safety and hope shall cheer the crushed and the chained.

If you feel no sympathy of soul, no yearnings of heart, no community of wrongs and woes, for and with the slave ; if your indignation slumbers at the recital of the cruel sin of the slaveholder ; if you have any fellowship in the privileges of the church or of society, with those who make merchandise of God's children ; if your religion does not impel you to labor zealously and constantly, in the world and in the sanctuary, on the Sabbath and on other days, for the immediate overthrow of American Slavery, and for the immediate elevation to all the rights and enjoyments of the great Christian brotherhood, of the three millions of outraged and desolated slaves in our land, then I pray you to tell me what your religion is worth to your own soul, to God, or to dying man ?

Beware ! You may hear the awful words of condemnation, "inasmuch as ye gave no ministration of love and mercy to these outraged and perishing brethren, ye despised and neglected me. Depart, ye workers of iniquity !"

Permit me now to call your attention to the two resolutions which were passed by the town of Danvers at our last annual meeting :

"RESOLVED, By the voters of Danvers, in Town-Meeting assembled, 'That we deeply deplore the sin of our nation, in holding

slaves ; and we feel it our duty to use all means in accordance with Christianity, to hasten the overthrow of the system of American Slavery.'

"RESOLVED, That we believe in the righteousness, safety, and expediency of immediate emancipation ; and we believe it our duty to do all we can to secure this result."

I pray God, that the just sentiments of these resolves may firmly seize upon the public conscience, and control the nation's conduct. *Then*, but never otherwise, would this be that happy people, whose God is the Lord ; and our country would be exalted by a saving righteousness, a redeeming love, a divine justice.

At the formation of our present federative government, the number of slaves was about one fifth the number now in bondage. The slave territory was then less than one fourth the area now blighted by the presence, on the soil, of human servitude. And yet, slavery has been abolished in several of the States of the Union, now free, since the adoption of our Constitution. Here let me state an important fact. It was the general expectation and desire, sixty years ago, that slavery would be extended in this country no further. The Fathers of our Union, though they saw not the atrocious evil of slavery as we now see it, did nevertheless, see and acknowledge its evil and ruinous nature. In their day, it was universally acknowledged, that slavery was an alarming evil, and it was the general expectation and desire, that measures would be adopted by the States, for its removal. Washington declared that his suffrage and influence should never be wanting for the abolition of slavery, by legislative enactment, in Virginia. Jefferson expressed trembling fears of national ruin, in view of God's justice, through our atrocious system of human bondage, one hour's endurance of which he declared to be worse than the oppression of England, by which our fathers were driven to revolt. Lafayette, who nobly aided our fathers in their darkest hour, on his

last visit to this country, at a public dinner in Salem, emphatically said, that he never would have spent a dollar nor struck a blow for our independence, had he not been assured that we honestly meant to secure the freedom of the slave, by gaining our own. No fact can be clearer than the intention of our fathers to localize and discourage slavery, or than their general hope to see it soon abolished by State action. And yet, we see slavery extended, in sixty years, to a new and then unoccupied territory, of greater magnitude, and of wider natural resources, than the original thirteen States. This fact opens to our view an alarming national departure from justice and right, of fearful import against us.

It is of unspeakable importance that we, *one and all*, should now understand the evil influence by which this work of ruin has been accomplished. Equally important, too, that the freemen of this nation should rise up as one man, at once and for ever to destroy this unholy influence. Do you ask, "what is that power which has seared the nation's conscience, blinded her understanding, debased her judgment, and consecrated her vast resources to the infernal scheme of extending and perpetuating the bondage of man?" Nothing but the slave-power could undertake such a mission.

Unprincipled slave-breeders and traders, uniting with unprincipled and ambitious politicians from all sections of the Union, have accomplished this horrible work. *They* are now guiding the ship of state on to the sharp rocks and into the boiling surge. "When the constitution was formed, slavery was *permitted* to exist for a little period, that it might prepare itself to die. Whoever studies the sentiment of that day, will see that men no more intended the perpetuation of slavery in this republic, than again to place the yoke which they had broken upon their own necks. Mark the contrast. One of the first acts of legisla-

tion *then*, was to prohibit slavery in all that territory which had not been formed into States. *In a later time*, we admit States that prohibit the abolition of slavery for ever. *Then*, all the territories belonging to the country were declared to be free. *Now*, we receive new regions, far wider than mighty empires, in which we sanction human bondage. Then, slavery, as upon its bended knees, pleaded for a brief delay in the execution of the sentence of death which seemed to be issued against it, in the fundamental principles of the republic, and the living spirit of the nation. *In a later generation*, slavery has assumed the dominion, and Liberty herself has been dumb in its presence."

We will now briefly refer to some of the enormities of the slave-power. By the slave-power, you will understand the influence of that combination of men who act together for the extension, permanence and supremacy of slavery in our country. First, the Texas swindle.

The neighboring state of Mexico, having achieved her own independence, published, September 15, 1829, a decree for the entire abolition of slavery, in which we find these remarkable words: "Being desirous to signalize the anniversary of independence, by an act of national justice and beneficence, which may redound to the advantage and support of so inestimable a good, which may tend to the aggrandizement of the republic, and which may reinstate an unfortunate portion of its inhabitants in the sacred rights which nature gave them, whom the nation should protect by wise and wholesome laws,—I [the President] have resolved to decree, that slavery is and shall remain abolished in this republic."

When this righteous decree became the universal law of the Mexican States, the inexorable sentence against an inoffensive neighbor, just entering upon the experiment of self-government, went forth from the

slave-power of our country: "*Thy heritage shall be torn from thee, and thy portion divided amongst thy spoilers.*" In accordance with this unholy purpose, slaveholders and their allies poured into a province of Mexico, and establishing slavery therein, in open violation of the fundamental law of the land, they raised the standard of revolt. While that robber war was fiercely waged, regiments were openly raised and equipped in our country, to aid the desperadoes of Texas, in wresting that vast province from a sister republic, that it might be dedicated as a prison-house for the slave. So far was our government from interfering to arrest this high-handed crime, that the President, himself a large slaveholder, sent a division of the United States' Army, under Gen. Gaines, to give covert aid to the infernal enterprise. It was just as impossible for the infant republic of Mexico to withstand the might of the wicked and powerful combination against her, as for the noble Hungarians to roll back the desperate hordes of Russia and Austria. Both were doomed to fall, because unprotected innocence was pitted against the organized powers of desperate and determined tyranny. The dark design of the slave-power was accomplished, and human bondage was established on one hundred and ninety-two millions of acres of free soil!

Then came the effort to introduce Texas into the Union. The slave-power planned and toiled to effect this purpose, while the nation slumbered on in besotted carelessness. By the vigilance of a few far-seeing, true-hearted and unyielding men, the slave-power was compelled to defer the accomplishment of this darling plan. But the genius of oppression never for one moment relaxed its toil, till success crowned its efforts, and Texas entered the sisterhood of States, with a constitution dooming her soil to the blighting curse of perpetual bondage!

But this triumph gave no rest to the plotting, bane-

ful slave-power. This act of dark injustice and national debasement was only one of a long series of contemplated crimes, all in due time to follow, for the further extension of slavery.

The next act of outrageous crime was consummated under the Presidency of James K. Polk, through the unhesitating assistance of the two great political parties of this country. The national honor is trailed in the dust, the nation's integrity is destroyed, and the nation's account of wrong-doing, calling aloud for sweeping retribution, is fearfully augmented, by a national prosecution of a pro-slavery war of conquest and dismemberment, against a defenceless neighbor, in order to add a vast area of virgin soil to the land of whips, and chains, and branding-irons! A slaveholding President, the infamous tool of the slave-power, and the Congress of the United States, Whigs and Democrats, with the exception of fourteen noble men, bowed the knee to the bloody Moloch of Slavery, and joined wicked hands in the prosecution of this nefarious war against Humanity. They raised and sent against Mexico seventy-five thousand men, under the command of the two great robbers of this land, to bombard the cities, and to desolate the fields of an unfortunate neighbor. All this was undertaken and carried out by our Government, at the behest of the slave-power, to enlarge the area of human bondage!

In the prosecution of this heaven-daring crime, two hundred millions of dollars were wasted, and stagnation in business, with deep, lasting commercial distress, was recklessly brought down upon the country by this terrible waste. The present generation and generations yet unborn, were burdened with an enormous debt. One hundred thousand members of the human brotherhood were immolated on the bloody altar of war. The fiendish passions of the damned were let loose to spread moral havoc and desolation through our land.

We are beginning to reap the fruits of such wretched national husbandry. In our own beloved Massachusetts, intemperance, gambling and licentiousness prevail to an alarming and unprecedented degree. Witness the open and high-handed violation of law by hundreds of desperate men, banded together, and plying in open day their work of death at all public gatherings, at Neponset, at Concord, at Danvers. See the gamblers resisting and defeating all the efforts of the officers of the law to arrest their wickedness. Crime never before walked abroad in our cities and large towns, in such proud defiance of law as it now does. The nation is pressing on to fearful retribution, under the control of the slave-power. Surely then we speak the words of soberness and truth, when we appeal to all true hearts, in the words of our resolutions, earnestly saying unto them: "Brothers and sisters, we *must* deeply deplore the sin of our nation in holding slaves. We *must* feel it to be our duty to use all means in accordance with Christianity, to hasten the overthrow of the system of American slavery. We believe it to be our imperative duty to do all we can to secure *immediate emancipation*, as the only righteous, safe and expedient remedy for this evil."

Let us look once more into the dark record of crime wrought out by the slave-power.

The Cherokee and Choctaw Indians trusted in the nation's honor and faith, which were plighted to them in solemn, specific and binding treaties, to protect them in the undisturbed possession and enjoyment of the small remnant of the land of their fathers, on which they then dwelt. They were learning the arts and surrounding themselves with the comforts of civilized life. They lived peaceably at home, confiding in the plighted word of a great people, generously given to them in their weakness. But their rich and valuable lands, their beautiful homes, were situated in the midst of the slave States. The slave-power

coveted its weak neighbor's vineyard, and finding that the precious homes of this defenceless people could not be fairly purchased, the meanest fraud was resorted to in order to put forth a claim to their possessions, and then the national force was employed to *drive* the heart-broken Indian away from his dear old home, into the wilderness wilds beyond the Mississippi. The slave-power polluted our national character by this falsehood and fraud; and then, with a triumphant jubilee, consecrated the fair inheritance, which this nation had wrested from the trusting and the defenceless, to the cruelties and woes of human bondage.

A feeble band of Seminoles, the remnant of a great tribe, lived upon the land of their fathers, among the everglades of Florida. The slave-power coveted their beautiful land, and demanded our assistance to drive into returnless exilement, the doomed victims of a merciless avarice. We met this atrocious demand by expending forty millions of dollars, by sacrificing ten thousand lives, pouring in upon the fastnesses and homes of the poor Indians, a horde of house-burners, women-violators, children-stealers and men-slayers, led on by the bloodhound warrior, who now executes our laws! Before this sweeping tide of cruelty, rapine and death, the courage of the brave Indian gave way to despair. A train of weeping mourners is led away to dig their graves in the far-distant West. *The Indian's home in the land of flowers is now the land of chains.*

All these crimes of robbery and murder, the slave-power instigated and the nation executed. Crime of such unmitigated meanness, of such damning atrocity, as our nation is guilty of, in robbing the Indians and Mexicans of their inheritance, in order to plant slavery thereon, can hardly be found in the annals of any other people. And so sure as a just God reigns, dispensing righteous judgments to the children of

men, such high-handed and heaven-daring national crime is working the downfall of this people. Let repentance be delayed, let restitution be refused, and let the same course of cruel injustice be persisted in, and national retribution, wide, sweeping and thorough, must be our doom. And when that hour comes, and this nation is overthrown, all the people of the earth shall shout a glad amen, at the fall of this Babylon of oppression, rapine and deception. How clear, therefore, to every one whose eye is single, our imperative duty to deplore with deepest feeling, the sin of our nation, and our sin in holding slaves, and to use all fair and honorable means for the immediate overthrow of the slave-power, which is working out for us such speedy and fearful ruin.

See now how the slave-power involves the nation in the sin of hypocrisy. We profess before the world to respect the right of free thought and of free discussion. How does the reality compare with such professions? Why, it is notorious, that wherever the slave-power controls the public mind, *there* is no freedom of thought or of discussion. The tyranny of the Spanish Inquisition, in its darkest days of greatest cruelty, can hardly be said to exceed the tyranny of the slave-power, in shackling the free thoughts of men, and in chaining down all free discussion. In proof of this statement, I will present to you three extracts from three of the leading journals of the South, upon the subject of free discussion. The New Orleans True American says: "We can assure the Bostonians, one and all, who have embarked in the nefarious scheme of abolishing slavery at the South, that lashes will hereafter be spared the backs of their emissaries. Let them send out their men to Louisiana,—*they will never return to tell their sufferings, but they shall expiate the crime of interfering in our domestic institutions, by being BURNED AT THE STAKE.*"

Says the Augusta (Georgia) Chronicle: "The cry of the whole South should be *death*—INSTANT DEATH *to the Abolitionist, wherever he is caught.*"

Says the Columbia (South Carolina) Telescope: "Let us declare, through the public journals of our country, *that the question of slavery is not and shall not be open for discussion; that the system is too deep-rooted among us, and must remain for ever; that the very moment any private individual attempts to lecture us upon its evils and immoralities, and the necessity of putting means in operation to secure ourselves from them, IN THE SAME MOMENT HIS TONGUE SHALL BE CUT OUT AND CAST UPON THE DUNGHILL.*"

So speaks the slave-power. *Its actions come up to the full atrocity of its denunciations.* Was the Spanish Inquisition ever worse than this?

Hangman Foote, of Mississippi, a senator in Congress, deliberately and openly declared, in the Senate Chamber, that he and his neighbors would hang up by the neck, on some tall tree, a brother senator from New Hampshire, if he would only afford them the pleasant opportunity, by coming among them, and giving utterance to his convictions of the evil and crime of slavery. There is no doubt it would be done with bonfires and public rejoicings, by the slaveholders of that State. *John P. Hale would be murdered in open day, if he should visit Mississippi, and talk there as he does at home.*

You can see how the slave-power degrades the minds of our statesmen, who succumb to its influence in this disgraceful fact, viz.: when that threat of assassination was made in our Senate Chamber, no senator from the Free States rebuked the fell assassin! Where then was the burning eloquence of Ohio's favorite son? Where the unequalled power of withering rebuke belonging to the gifted son of Massachusetts' adoption? All were dumb, cowed by the braying of the ass, on which rode the embodied spirit of the slave-power!

South Carolina takes the free citizens of Massachusetts from our vessels, when they arrive in her ports, and confines them in her pestilential jails, for no crime but the color of their skin! Our Commonwealth sends one of her most venerable men to try the constitutionality of the law which authorizes these outrages. The slave-power fears the light of free discussion, and so Samuel Hoar is ignominiously *driven* from the South, and the will of a sister State, as well as the rights of Humanity, are trampled in the dust by the inexorable slave-power! Shame on Massachusetts, that she cannot find a man who will stand firm in that post of duty, unawed by the threats of slavery, and unmoved by the danger of a martyr's death! *A true man would have died then rather than flee.*

A Wesleyan minister is now awaiting his trial in Virginia, charged with circulating "Rev. E. Smith's Bible Argument on Slavery," and with loaning "Frederick Douglass's Narrative." These two charges subject him to an imprisonment in the State Penitentiary, of not less than two years, nor more than ten years. All can judge, from the past conduct of the slave-power in such cases, what the measure of cruelty meted out to him will probably be.

Barrett, a citizen of Ohio, passing through South Carolina, is arrested on the bare suspicion of being an abolitionist, and of being engaged in circulating a pamphlet through that State, in which is exposed the unjust representative system, fixed upon the State by the slave-power. The United States mail is rifled to get evidence against him, and our Postmaster-General, though cradled and nurtured into manhood among the free hills of Vermont, bows down in craven fear, to this outrage upon the constitution, by the slave-power! *Was Arnold a baser traitor?*

Mr. Janeway, of Loudon County, Virginia, has been presented by the grand jury for writing articles

against slavery, for the National Era, a paper printed in the District of Columbia, out of the jurisdiction of Virginia. What the punishment will be, which such an offence may be thought to deserve in the native State of Washington and Jefferson, we cannot tell. But judging by the past, it cannot be a light one. Such facts might be multiplied to any extent. How false and hypocritical, then, our nation's boasted freedom of thought and of discussion! *Freedom and Truth inevitably perish wherever slavery exists.*

But it is time, in our enumeration of the atrocious crimes of the slave-power, to consider the ruined slave.

Since the formation of our government, nine millions of human beings, according to a careful estimate, have lived, toiled and died, slaves in our land. *Nine millions now in the world of eternal and just award, swift and fearful witnesses against this people!* Three millions are now slaves, fettered and degraded, in this land of boasted liberty!

It is not my purpose in this address to say a word of the whips, and chains, and branding-irons of slavery. These are but a drop in the ocean of unavoidable cruelties and woes of the accursed system. It is not the *body* so much as it is the heart, the *soul* of the slave, which is marked with the indelible scars of remorseless tyranny.

These numberless fellow-beings, one and all, have the same intuitive and irrepressible longings after happiness that you and I have. The same thrilling love for home, and for the dear members of the family circle, as brightly burns in *their* souls as in *ours*. The same yearnings of heart for improvement in social and intellectual condition, lay hold upon *them* as upon *us*. But all these sacred feelings of the living and immortal mind are disregarded and desecrated by the ruthless slave-power in the case of untold millions of members of the human brotherhood, doomed by

that power to wear away life in mental darkness and in chains !

I entreat of you a *patient* hearing, while I now endeavor to aid you in remembering the slave, *according to God's command, as bound with him*. Brother ! put yourself in the place of the slave-husband. Sister ! put yourself in the place of the slave-wife. You have gained the affections of one to whom you have given the priceless treasure of your love. The happiness of this relationship, and the sweet communion of fond hearts, are daily embittered and darkened by the fear of a cruel separation. It is not death that you fear as the agent appointed to separate you, and the cause of despairing woe. O no ! *'tis your master—your brother. He owns you and your wife. He can sunder the ties which join you in holy affection, and which make of two one heart. He can send away your husband, never to return to your embrace, leaving you in a hopeless, joyless widowhood, and your children in an unprotected state, worse than orphanage. He can sell your wife, tear her from your embrace, and send her away to returnless exilement, leaving you to mourn without hope. Your master can sell you or your wife just as he can sell his ox or his horse, and no earthly power can save or aid you.*

Listen to an extract from the thrilling narrative of Henry Box Brown.

Henry was a slave in Virginia. He had a wife and three children, for whom he was paying one hundred and twenty dollars a year. One morning he went to work as usual, but on returning at noon, found that his wife and children had been seized and sold upon the auction-block, to the slave-traders, and were to be transported out of the State the next day, in a slave-gang, which had just been filled by the purchase of his wife and children. Henry says : "The next day I stationed myself by the side of the

road, over which the slaves, three hundred and fifty-three, were to pass. There was a large company of us waiting to take a last farewell of the dear ones of our homes. A moan of sorrow could be heard on all sides as we waited for the sad procession. Soon five waggons came along, loaded with the children too small to walk. My little girl saw me, and pointing to me with her hand out of the waggon, cried out, 'There's my father; I knew he would come to say good-bye.' I was choked with sorrow, and could not reply a word. When the slave-gang came up, I got hold of the hand of my wife, and walked weeping by her side for several miles. We could not talk; our sorrow was too great; and we parted without speaking the word, farewell.

"Henry remarked, with the deepest pathos, that after his wife and children were stolen, his heart was broken. He had learned to sing, to lighten the tedium of his labor, and for the gratification of his fellow-captives, but now he could not sing. His thoughts were far away in the rice-swamps of Carolina. His wife was not and his children were not, and he refused to be comforted. When the master, noticing his despondency, told him he could get another wife (Southern morality), Brown shook his head,—the wife of his affections and the children of his love or none at all."

Brothers, will you remember the sorrows of Henry Box Brown? Sisters, will you think upon the situation of that heart-broken wife?

Fathers and mothers! put yourselves in the place of the *slave-father* and the *slave-mother*, and see if you could endure their cruel woes. You love your children with a parent's fond, enduring affection. Your intense desire is to promote your children's well-being, to secure their happiness. But alas! you have no control over the destiny of your offspring. You are not permitted to send your dear

little boys and girls to school. No one is allowed to impart knowledge to their eager minds. Ignorant and degraded you usher them into the world, ignorant and degraded they *must* live and die. *Your children are slaves. They belong to your master.* He may do with them as seemeth proper to him, and you have no remedy, however unjustly or cruelly your beloved child is treated. If you have a beautiful, graceful daughter, that beauty and grace will fetch their price. Your daughter may be exposed for unrestrained examination and sale upon the auction-block, in the presence of insensate fiends, burning with hellish lust. Avarice, overpowered by the fires of unholy passion, which her beauty and grace will awaken in lecherous villians, will pay down the price, and your lovely child is carried off to the harem of death-dealing lust.

Sorrowfully I speak of these things. With indescribable sympathy, I think of the thousands and tens of thousands of our defenceless and wretched sisters in the polluted land of slavery. Who else on earth so completely in the hands of unprincipled tyrants as they? Whose condition demands such fervent commiseration as theirs?

“SALE OF A WHITE GIRL.

A correspondent of the Saturday Visiter, formerly a resident of a slave State, but now living in Pittsburg, furnishes the following case of the sale of a white girl, which came under his notice:

One day I noticed the slave-market rather more crowded than usual (it was directly opposite the store in which I was engaged.) Curiosity led me to swell the number of the audience; and, O God! I shall never forget the scene which presented itself to my view. A beautiful girl, about 18 years of age, as white as the fairest belle in Pittsburg, stood drowned in tears and wofully dejected, beside the devil incarnate whose business it was to dispose of her body and soul, to the highest bidder; he spoke long, loud and lasciviously of her charms, but could not entirely quench the latent spark of human feeling—some few cried ‘shame!’ He could not excite the bestial passions of the lustful, to entrench upon their pockets to the extent he wished. Not even were the brutal traders in female purity from

New Orleans satisfied with his exordiums of her excellence. They should know more. An aged gentleman bid \$600, and there it stopped. The old man's eye glistened, and he drew up his attenuated form to its full height; he thought the prize was his, and that before to-morrow's sun had sunk in the west, the fair flower that bloomed before him would be blighted and blasted forever. But not so.

The skilful auctioneer of God's image saw that he had raised as much as he could with the poor girl's present appearance, as she had clothed herself as neatly as they would allow. He crying, 'Gentlemen, you know not what a prize you let slip,' pulled off the turban which she wore, and a magnificent head of long hair fell down about her shoulders, dark as night, and wavy as the sea when fanned by a gentle breeze. The Southern rascal bid \$650, the old one \$700, and again all was fair for the hopes of the Septuagenarian, when with dastard hand, the ruffian salesman tore asunder the dress which covered her bosom, and exposed to the libertine gaze around him, a bust in beauty and purity never surpassed by painter or sculptor. I turned away, and went home sick at heart. Forgive me, O God, if I almost doubted thy justice. I was informed a few hours after, that the poor girl swooned, and while in a state of insensibility, was examined, bid for, and at last bought by one of the Southern traders. May God have pity on her!

On inquiry, I found that she had been raised and educated by an old lady, whose property she was, and who died suddenly intestate. For the purpose of division among her heirs, her real estate and slaves were all sold by auction, under an order from some court of law. I had lived for many years in a country where law and not justice ruled; had seen much of the iniquity of the system, but never was so thoroughly disgusted as in this instance. I remained but a few weeks in Tennessee, and without the slightest feeling of regret, although I left many dear relations behind, came here a comparative stranger to all around me, but have now made many dear friends, all of whom have as great repugnance to the horrible traffic as myself."

O, how heart-rending the condition of the slave in the sweet relation of family and home! The Rev. R. J. Breckenridge of Kentucky, thus speaks on this point, of the family and home relations of the slave. He characterized it as "the most atrocious of all human institutions," as a system "which denies to a whole class of human beings the sacredness of marriage and of home, compelling them to live in a state of concubinage, for in the eye of the law no colored slave-man is the husband of any wife in par-

ticular, nor any slave-woman the wife of any husband in particular, and no slave-child is the child of any parent in particular."

Are *you* a slave? You are then in degrading misery yourself, and your children must be in the same condition. In the social and civil state you are possessed of no rights. Cruel injustice may be perpetrated upon you in the presence of your family, but *you* have no remedy. You can't enter an action against the wrong-doer. Your family can't bear witness in your behalf, in a court of justice. You are not recognised as an intelligent moral agent. The law makes you a *chattel*, a *thing*,—*the irresponsible property of your master*. The highest, holiest of all rights, a man's right to himself, is wholly denied to you. You can find no sanctuary in the church. The church dares receive you only on the consent of your master. If taken into her bosom, you have no real privilege there. If you possess a meek, gentle, Christian spirit, this too is so much merchandise in your master's hands. Your piety enhances your value upon the auction-block. Imperious tyranny compels you to toil and wear away life for the profit of your master. At his command and for his profit, you may at any time be parted from all you hold dear, and be driven in the slave-coffle to a returnless exilement, and to an early grave. You have no right to cultivate the powers of your mind, to search out the hidden mysteries of nature, to study the character of God, and to seek to know the relations which bind you to the Eternal. The darkness of hopeless ignorance is brought down upon your mind, to extinguish the immortal spark which God has there kindled.

I was witness not long ago to a scene, which filled my heart with deepest sadness. A noble-looking brother, about thirty years old, just from the prison-house of human bondage, was engaged with determined purpose in learning to read and write in one

of the free evening schools of Salem. A fine lad of twelve years, who had enjoyed the blessed privileges of our free schools, was patiently and lovingly imparting knowledge to the eager mind of this poor brother, who had been shut up in the dark prison of slavery during thirty years of his life.

The cruelty, the damning sin of thus shutting up millions of immortal and eager minds from the light and ennobling joys of knowledge, cannot be portrayed by mortal pen or pencil. How appalling the picture of human depravity which is presented to the mind, as we look upon the ignorance and degradation, the mental darkness and inaction, in which the slave is kept by unrelenting coercion!

And now brother, sister, in all soberness, I ask the question, could you endure such desolating wrongs as crush life, and hope, and energy in the soul of the slave? Who wonders that slaves sometimes resist even unto death! Oh, how wonderful their patience and their power of forgiveness! Who can wonder that slaves run away by thousands, braving hunger and thirst, heat and cold, and all the perils of a long and toilsome journey through a hostile land, in order to escape the insupportable horrors of slavery?

In the very capital of this nation, under the laws which *our* representatives enact, seventy human beings, for no crime but attempting to gain their liberty, were last year sold to the fiendish slave-traders, chained in the slave-gang, and marched to fields of toil and death, in the extreme South. I will lay before you a letter to the Albany Evening Journal, written by Slingerland, the representative from that district in our last Congress. The letter is headed, the "Horrors of Slavery." It is worthy of implicit credit, for it comes from no fanatic, but from a cool, cautious and able Whig, who voted last November for our slaveholding and warrior President.

"HORRORS OF SLAVERY.

Correspondence of the Evening Journal.

Washington, April 22, 1843.

FRIEND WEED — Last evening, in passing the railroad depot I saw quite a large number of colored persons gathered round one of the cars, and from manifestations of grief among some of them, I was induced to draw near and ascertain the cause. I found in the car towards which they were so eagerly gazing *fifty colored persons*, some of whom were nearly as white as myself. A large majority of the number were those who attempted to gain their liberty last week, in the schooner Pearl. About half of them were females, a few of whom had but a slight tinge of African blood in their veins — they were finely formed and beautiful. The men were ironed together, and the whole group looked sad and dejected. At each end of the car stood a ruffian-looking guard, with large canes in their hands. In the middle of the car stood the notorious slave-dealer of Baltimore. He had purchased the men and women around him, and was taking his departure for Georgia. While observing this old grey-headed dealer in the bodies and souls of men, the Chaplain of the Senate entered the car, and took his brother by the hand, chatted with him for a short time, and seemed to view the heart-rending scene before him with as little concern as we would look upon cattle! I know not whether he came with a view to sanctify the act, or pronounce the parting blessing; but this I do know, that he justifies slavery! A Presbyterian minister, who owned one of the fugitives, was the first to strike a bargain with the slave-dealer, and make merchandise of God's image. Some of the colored people outside, as well as in the car, were weeping most bitterly. I learned that many families were separated. Wives were there to take leave of their husbands, and husbands of their wives; children of their parents, and parents of their children. Friends parting with friends, and the tenderest ties of humanity severed at a single bid of the inhuman slave-broker before them. A husband, in the meridian of life, begged to see the partner of his bosom. He protested that she was free — that she had free papers, and was torn away from him, and shut up in the jail. He clambered up to one of the windows of the car to see his wife, and, as she was reaching forward her hand to him, the black-hearted slave-dealer ordered him down. He did not obey. The husband and wife, with tears streaming down their cheeks, besought him to let them speak to each other. But no; he was knocked down from the car, and ordered away! The bystanders could hardly restrain themselves from laying violent hands upon the brute. This is but a faint description of the scene which took place within a few rods of the Capitol, and under enactments recognised by Congress. Oh, what a revolting scene to a feeling heart, and what a retribution awaits the actors! Will not their wailings of anguish reach the ears of the Most High? 'Vengeance is mine — I will repay, saith the Lord.' "

In view of such enormities, I ask you, does not this people tower above the nations of the earth in crime, as much as we rise above them in privileges and opportunities? Can there be a doubt in any intelligent mind of our imperative duty to pray and to strive, with unceasing exertion, for the immediate and unconditional overthrow of American Slavery? *Can the Christian* forget the slave in his prayers? *Can the Christian* minister be silent in the sacred desk respecting his brother in bonds? *Can* any doctrine or preaching, not imbued, warmed up, and alive with the great spirit of Christian humanity, glorify God or save man? *Can the good* man pass by, with unconcern, the wounded, stripped, and bleeding slave? *Can* he join in the fellowship of approving love, with the robbers who strip their helpless victims of their all, and then leave them to perish by the wayside? *Can* he, in any case, under any circumstances, in any emergency, recognise as true Christians, the priest and the Levite, who see these millions of pleading, dying bondmen around them, but put forth no earnest, manly effort to aid them?

These are solemn, searching questions. To conscience and to God I have answered them; and be the consequences what they may, I take you to witness this day my vow. As far as possible, I will put myself in the place of the slave. No time and no place shall be witness to my silence in regard to the atrocious sin of slaveholding. My honest rebuke shall never be wanting towards those who commit the crime of supporting, by vote or Christian recognition, or by criminal silence, the slaveholder. With all the earnestness of my heart I will plead the cause of the three million members of the human brotherhood, now chained in the great Southern prison of cruelty and woe. I will plead their cause upon the *Sabbath* and in the *sanctuary*, in the world and in the social circle. *I entreat you to ponder upon your*

duty. Let the light of eternal truth shine upon *your* path. With a sublime trust in God, move onward and upward in the path of holy, self-denying love.

Let us now dwell a moment, in thought, upon the *advancement* which the slave-power has made *in its system of morality*, during sixty years of remarkable human progress. Washington and Jefferson unhesitatingly spoke of slavery as an unmitigated and fearful evil. They publicly expressed an earnest desire to see the whole system overthrown. But *now*, while the world is convulsed with the rousing energies of oppressed millions struggling for freedom, in the noon-time of the nineteenth century, the inhuman position is taken and tenaciously maintained, by nearly all the leading men of the entire South, *that slavery is a blessing—the corner-stone of democracy—the divinely-appointed relation between the laborer and the employer.* How appalling the demonstration which this fact affords of the degrading influence which slavery exerts upon the public mind!

The slave-power is now operating with all its old energy and unanimity, to inflict the curse of human bondage upon New Mexico and California. Slaves are already bought, and sold, and tasked in these territories. It is estimated by a strong-minded slaveholder and an earnest slavery propagandist, that ten thousand slaves will be introduced into California the present year. Thousands of slaveholders are on their way to the land of golden promise, with the strong determination to plant slavery there. I know that many true-hearted anti-slavery men have likewise gone from the Free States to California, who will exert a manly and a faithful influence against the establishment of slavery there. I thank God they are to be on the ground. I wish a hundred thousand faithful abolitionists were this day congregated on the shores of the Pacific Sea and in the valleys of California. I know it is said by many able men, that

there is no danger of the establishment of slavery in these territories. But I cannot agree with them in this view. The warning record of *our* nation's history tells me that there is and must be imminent danger, without the specific and unflinching prohibition of slavery in all our territories by Congress. Nothing but the most unwearied vigilance, untiring effort, and united heartiness, on the part of the true friends of man, can prevent the triumph of the slave-power in its present atrocious scheme for planting this desolating curse upon the soil of a vast unsettled empire, which is now free by law.

Well, let slavery triumph in this enterprise, and you prepare the way for the annexation of the remaining Mexican States, Guatemala and the West India Islands, to our Union as slave States. And what then? Why *then* the slave-power would control this country. *Then* nothing but the sword and the fagot could finish our drama of national crime and retribution. No intelligent man, at all acquainted with the history of this country for the last twenty years, doubts the earnestness or tenacity of the slave-power's purpose to make slavery the overshadowing influence in our national councils, by its extension to the Isthmus and to the Islands of the Great Gulf, and by the introduction of all this vast territory, as independent States, into our Federal Union. Nor can any sane mind, cognizant of the past and awake to the present, doubt the imminence of our danger from these infernal schemes of the slave-power.

The slave-power demands not the negro alone as its victim. Complexion has nothing to do with the enslavement of human beings. Hundreds and thousands of slaves at the South are as white as you or I. The slave-power demands the enslavement of the *laborer*. And this is by no means an idle demand. Let slavery continue another sixty years, steadily extending its dominion; let the slave-power control

the destinies of this people during these coming years ; and as surely as a just God reigneth, the prospective atrocities of the slave-power will be accomplished. And *then* the universal relation of laborer to employer, in this Western world, will be that of slave to master. Capital will own the soil, and the tillers thereof ; the work-shop and the toiling artisan, the implements of labor, and the millions who use them. This whole land will *then* be a land of whips and chains, and branding-irons—a land of heartless tyrants and cringing slaves!! How true then the sentiments of our Resolutions. It is the duty of every man, woman, and child, both North and South of the dividing line, to do all that can be done to secure the immediate emancipation of our brethren in bonds ; to labor, in and out of season, for the instant and entire overthrow of American Slavery. This is the pressing present issue before us, vital both to *our* well-being and to the well-being of our *children* after us. Neglect this, and you neglect the great, the momentous duty of our day. Neglect this, and I care not what else you do perform, you are faithless stewards in the household of your Lord.

When I forget the slave, and cease to labor for his emancipation from bondage, and for his introduction to the glorious privileges of the equal and universal brotherhood which Jesus came to establish, “ *Then let my right hand forget her cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth.* ”

Let us now briefly consider the *agency* by which the slave-power acts and rules. The slaveholders, acting alone, could never have wrought out a tithe of the vast and atrocious enterprise which has been accomplished by the slave-power. Union and energy would never avail five hundred thousand men in an earnest encounter with fifteen millions. One man, in the most unrighteous cause that ever enlisted the abandoned and the reprobate, could not stand

his ground a moment against thirty men, enrolled under the banner of Humanity. But the slave-power has ruled the country and extended wide the curse of human bondage, by securing the neutrality, or the open support of the men of wealth, of commanding influence, and of great learning through our whole land. The great majority of our whole people, while at heart loving liberty and hating oppression, yet, actuated too much by the blind spirit of party bigotry, and led on by these compromisers in their party action, have acquiesced in this unholy alliance with the slave-power. How many honest, well-sustained efforts against the aggressions of the slave-power can you find in the public life of the giant mind of this State, during the thirty years that he has acted an important part in the councils of this nation? Alas for Humanity that it should be so! *Hardly one.* But on the other hand, you can find numberless cases of shameful concession to, and cowardly compromise with, the dark spirit of slavery, in the public life of Massachusetts' most honored son! And what is said of him may be said also of nearly every influential statesman acting in our government for the past thirty years. Without doubt, the people in their stupid clamor about banks and tariffs, forgetting entirely the down-trodden slave, and mobbing the few who dared to plead the cause of the despised bondman, are partly accountable for this wicked subserviency on the part of their public servants to the slave-power. And so also, still more, has the shameful subserviency of our leading statesmen exerted a potent influence upon the people, to make them the besotted allies of their deadliest enemy. Thank God! a change is working in the public mind. "The seal is broken," and true men are leading to the encounter the mustering hosts of Humanity.

The slave-power has been aided in the execution

of its nefarious schemes by a venal and time-serving press. And here is now one of its most potent supporters. I speak not now of papers which are merely partisan and political in their character, for such papers *must* betray and crucify Humanity. Their aim is mean, cruel, and unholy, and their influence is necessarily devilish. Such papers are found one day arrayed against a universal and unmitigated wrong, as the democratic journals of New England were in 1842 and 1843, against the annexation of Texas to our Union; and the next day you shall find them *all* joining with corrupt political leaders in shouting *for* this great crime as a leading party issue! You cannot say that they violate conscience, or sell principle, for they are manifestly destitute of both. It is their trade to lie, and to pander to the worst passions of men, *and they glory in their shame*. We leave them to the contempt of virtuous intelligence. We expect no aid from *them* in the cause of the human brotherhood. And we only say of them, that true men will give them no support or countenance, but leave them to sink by the weight of their inherent baseness.

But I would speak an earnest word of remonstrance against the course pursued by papers, which, professing to seek truth and duty, and the promotion of the well-being of man, do yet give efficient aid to the slave-power. The New York Tribune, professing to understand the high duties of our social brotherhood, and often discoursing most eloquently upon the rights of down-trodden man, pollutes its columns with fulsome adulation of our President as a *peace* man; as an *honest* man; as a *humane* man! A *peace* man? engaged in war from his youth, as the trade of his life, and not only so, but the leader in the two most infamous wars which the present century has witnessed! An *honest* man? daily robbing hundreds of fellow-members of the human family of their hard

earnings, and building up a large estate by legalized piracy! A *humane* man? the enslaver of men, women, and children! the butcher of thousands in wars of atrocious injustice! Alas, how utterly perverted a great mind becomes by the sacrifice of principle to party, or to an imaginary self-interest!

Turn now to our religious papers. Do the fervent appeals of a suffering brotherhood meet a true and loving response from these professed oracles of the blessed Jesus? Alas, how far from true devotion to God and a suffering world they stand! We will not say a word of the "Observers" and "Puritan Records," since their place and influence are obviously partisan, sectarian, and inhuman; but we would and we must protest against the compromising course pursued on this vital question by such papers as the "Congregationalist," and the "Independent." These papers were recently established with the explicit promise that they should be thoroughly anti-slavery. Thousands of earnest abolitionists, trusting in their professions, take and read them. It is our right to demand of the editors of these papers, that they take, and unflinchingly maintain, high ground of opposition to, and war against American Slavery. It is the duty of every sincere man and woman, who loves the ruined slave, to withhold from them all support, if they fail to plant themselves on this ground. Where are the editors of the Congregationalist? All of them keepers of our late National Fast, without one word of rebuke for the evident hypocrisy of that act. All of them commenders of the death-bed repentance and sprinkling of our late most wicked President, and that without one word of the *last* fearful crime of his dying hour, in leaving his outraged slaves to toil on in hopeless despair, and to die in chains. One of the three responsible editors of that paper, famous years ago for his "organic" folly at the meeting of the American Board in Brooklyn, has just voted against

the petition of the colored citizens of Boston, for the free enjoyment of their precious rights to the public schools of Boston, because, as he says, in justifying his vote, "public opinion is not ready for the righteous measure." The three editors of this paper, and the three men at the head of the Independent, justify and applaud the course which the American Board has just taken in their annual meeting at Pittsfield, upon the subject of slavery in the Mission Churches. And one of their number, the leading minister of New Haven, is the author of a recent report, accepted by a large body of ministers, in which it is openly stated, that the relation of the master to the slave, is not *per se* sinful! Let who can, hope for good from such a religious press. *I cannot.* God grant that true men and true women may leave these compromising papers to die, and their memory to rot. When shall we see this sin of compromise with wrong, of which our public men are so generally, so deeply guilty, placed as it should be at the head of all conceivable unworthiness?

Of how many of our papers professing to be anti-slavery, we are compelled in sadness to say, there is no independence, no manliness, no reliable principle, no *clear* light of truth, no *abiding* devotedness to right, to be found in them. Witness the unworthy and pro-slavery defence of Friar Mathew, for his craven submission to slavery, in the Chronotype. A stronger ally the slave-power never had than the editor of that paper, in his attempted exculpation of the Irish priest and compromiser, for his ignoring in *this* country the *unpopular* cause of the slave, which *at home*, a *popular* cause, he had embraced, and joined O'Connell and others in aiding along! Merciful God! give to the hosts of humanity, as leaders in the crisis of this great day, men of the uncompromising spirit and true devotion to right, which shone out so steadfastly and brightly in our "Great Captain!"

Jesus freely, lovingly gave His life to ransom and save us. Oh, may we be ready to die for that precious brotherhood which He has established, if the path of duty should lead us to the Cross!

Again, the slave-power has used, and is now using, a false religion and a faithless ministry to extend and perpetuate the worst diabolism the sun ever shone upon — American Slavery. Albert Barnes, one of the ablest Presbyterian ministers of this country, declares: — “Most sincerely do we believe, that, if all Christians in these States were to ‘do with their might’ what they can find to be done, — the love of Christ constraining them; — if they would detach themselves from all personal connection with the system of slavery, so that their influence should not ‘throw the sacred shield of religion over so great an evil, there is no public sentiment in this land — there could be none created, that would resist the power of such testimony. There is no power *out* of the church, that could sustain slavery an hour, if it were not sustained *in* it. Not a blow need be struck. Not an unkind word need be uttered. No man’s motive need be impugned; no man’s proper rights invaded. All that is needful is, for each Christian man, and for every Christian church, to stand up in the sacred majesty of such a solemn testimony; to free themselves from all connection with the evil, and utter a calm and deliberate voice to the world, AND THE WORK WILL BE DONE.’ ”

Strange that one, who can give utterance to such true and noble sentiments as these, should still consent to be connected, in ecclesiastical fellowship, with a slaveholding church, as the Presbyterian Church South is.

Another of our ablest writers says: “But for the countenance of the Northern Church, the Southern conscience would long since have awakened to a sense of its guilt, and the impious sight of a church

made up of slaveholders, and called the church of Christ, would have been scouted from the world."

This is strong language ; but no man who understands the tremendous influence which the church exerts, can, for a moment, doubt its correctness. The stern and sorrowful truth is, the American Church is the slaveholder's strong hiding-place. John C. Calhoun is a ruling elder in a Presbyterian church. The religion of the South—which is wholly a thing of forms, psalm-singing, praying, preaching, Sabbath-keeping, and such like, but which has no vital power, as the connection of the Southern Church with slavery proves—is referred to every day, to prove that slaveholders may be good, pious men ! It is true, a man wishes to be blinded who is deceived by these things.

But I will let facts speak for themselves, in respect to the connection of the Northern Church with slavery. The A. B. C. F. M. have just closed their annual meeting at Pittsfield. What have they done upon the slavery question ? In a spirit of unholy compromise, they have ignored the whole question. Their influence is now on the side of Southern Slavery. Their feet are on the necks of the slaves ! Every dollar now given to sustain them, is given against Humanity ! Do you ask, what signifies the fact that the American Board of Foreign Missions, is a pro-slavery body ? It signifies just this : the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches of the Free States, *which sustain that society*, are pro-slavery, and in league with the slave-power. *A very significant fact for Christians in these churches to consider.* Again, the Methodist Episcopal Church North, is in league and full fellowship with slaveholding churches. Hope Slatter, the notorious slave-trader, is one of the liberal supporters of this church. Hence, the influence of all these churches is necessarily against Jesus and Humanity. The same may

be said and proved of nearly all the denominational bodies of professed Christians in all the Free States. There are Independent churches, which are fully and gloriously anti-slavery. May God increase them till our land is dotted, from ocean to ocean, with true Christian churches, obedient to the principles of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, which shine out so clearly on every page of the Gospel of Jesus, and in every act of His *true life*.

The Wesleyan Church is the only *denomination* of which I have any knowledge in New England, that professes to take uncompromising anti-slavery ground. And even in this church, a leading man openly occupied last autumn, and without open rebuke, a pro-slavery position, by voting and electioneering for our present slaveholding President. But I would not be so unjust as to class the Wesleyan Church with the other denominations of New England, as being connected in ecclesiastical relations with slaveholders. I believe it to be not only free from all such wicked relations, but also earnestly desirous of doing a faithful part in the great work of Sanctified Humanity, which is now calling upon all men for instant aid. In this work, may God speed the Wesleyan Church. In mercy, may it be freed from the baneful presence of all pro-slavery men, by their conversion to the truth, or if that be impossible, by their expulsion from her communion.

In speaking of other denominations, truth compels me to say, that they are found fearfully recreant, judged by the unerring rule of Christ: "By their fruits ye shall know them." Look at their fruits. In the momentous crisis of last year, doctors of divinity and ministers of great influence, by hundreds and thousands, voted for the bloody leader of our armies in their unholy crusade against Humanity. I think I may safely say, in ninety-nine churches out of every hundred of these denominations in New

England, professed followers of the uncompromising Jesus, voted for the warrior slaveholder, who keeps in bondage hundreds of his fellow-men. By their votes did they aid to elevate him to the Presidency, reeking in the blood of the slaughtered Indians and Mexicans, and made rich by the unrighteous gains of unpaid toil. It is a significant fact, too, that a large majority of the ministers, having charge of these churches, preached no earnest, truthful, and timely discourse, during the last year's canvas, respecting the atrocious sin of voting for a slaveholder. And *now*, American Slavery is the *last* topic of Sabbath discourse, on which an earnest word is heard from their pulpits. American Slavery is the subject on which the least is now said, by these ministers, of all subjects which interest the public mind. Now bear in mind that this is no secondary question, but, in stern reality, the leading, most pressing, and most vital Christian reform of our day, and then decide yourselves, in view of the spirit of silence and compromise manifested thereon; if it be not true, that a false religion and a faithless ministry aid and support the abhorrent slave-power.

The American Church is deeply dyed in guilt, in respect to the enslavement and ruin of the millions of our brethren, who are held in fetters to a fearful extent, by her alliance with the slave-power. *Ministers and people, of every county in every State of this Union*, go from the sanctuary to the ballot-box, and vote for a noted murderer and man-stealer, helping to elevate to the highest office within the gift of this people, a man whose whole life is stained with undisguised and unspeakable crimes. Are they dealt with for this atrocious sin? *Not one of them.* Their character as Christians is unaffected and unstained, in the view of the Church, by this open league with hell. The American Church, *as a body*, oppose and brand as come-outers and infidels, every one who

is faithful in the remembrance of the slave, as the *gospel commands, as bound with him*. The American Church, *as a body*, attempt to throw the Bible and the Sabbath down upon, to crush the dying slave !

I can point to churches which were formed as anti-slavery churches, in which a faithful anti-slavery sermon is not preached during one of the fifty-two Sabbaths of the year. I recently attended the exercises, ordaining and installing a minister over such a church. Three hours were consumed in pointing out the duties of pastor and people ; but not one minute was given in prayer or speaking to the millions of slaves, who plead in vain of that church for a remembrance of sympathy, of love, and of ceaseless toil, *such as God commands*. Such churches are as truly and as fearfully pro-slavery as the church to which the slaveholder, Henry Clay, belongs, or the one in whose communion Thomas Hart Benton is found, or that of which John C. Calhoun is a ruling elder. What kind of a *Christian* church would that be, in which no sermon about *Christ* should be preached, from one end of the year to the other ? Such an organization might be a *Jewish* or a *Mahomedan* church, but to call it a *Christian* church would be a naked fraud.

It is with unfeigned sorrow that I speak of such facts, for my heart longs, yea, it faints to see such a church in our world, as Jesus Christ established, with power to reform the world, by the establishment of Righteousness, Peace, and a Brotherhood of Love, throughout the length and breath of the earth.

But I would not let any feelings or sympathies blind me to the truth. Neither would I for any consideration of selfish interest or short-sighted expediency, suppress one jot or tittle of my honest conviction of what is the truth. Hence it is, that I feel compelled to say, that the American Church, *as a*

body, occupies to-day, a false, faithless and destructive position, in regard to the most atrocious and debasing sin of our world, American Slavery !

But let us not forget to look to ourselves, in searching out the wicked agency, by which the slave-power has secured obedience to its abhorrent commands. But few of us can say, that we are innocent of having harbored in our hearts a wicked prejudice towards the negro. Few, if any of us, who have not been guilty of indifference towards the pleading, wretched slave. All such prejudice is of the devil, and all such indifference is direct and potent support of the slave-power. Few of us have remembered the slave as bound with him ; and, failing to do all this, we forget to minister to the Lord of all, who is chained and lacerated in the bondage and sufferings of the least of his brethren, languishing and dying in the great Southern prison land ! Repentance is therefore our duty. The strongest obligation lays hold upon us, "deeply to deplore the sin of our nation" and our sin "in holding slaves," and "to do all we can to secure the immediate emancipation of all in bondage," and their immediate introduction to a full participation in the glorious privileges of the GREAT CHRISTIAN BROTHERHOOD. The negro is not to be sent to Africa, nor driven across the line of Western civilization. This land is his native *home*, as truly as it is ours. He has the same inalienable right to enjoy fully and unmolested the civil, social and moral privileges of this country, that we have. God is his father as truly as he is ours. The same glorious and immortal endowments are bestowed upon him that we possess. We are brethren of the same family, and our destiny must unite and run on together. We cannot permit the negro to remain in bondage, for in so doing we are forging chains for our children. And if we falter and fail in the encounter to which we are now called against the desolating inroads of the slave-power, our children's children will there-

by reap a harvest of sufferings and woe. Here then we take an immovable stand. We can do no otherwise. May God help us, for this is Jehovah's cause.

In conclusion, allow me to say a word to the young. Young men and young women! I would that I possessed the power to set before you, with a divine eloquence, the glory and the greatness of the mission to which you are called. No generation ever came upon the stage of active life with such vast opportunities for doing good with such momentous responsibilities for the improvement of life, as you, who are now coming up into your fathers' and mothers' places in society. Those who have gone before you, leading you along in your early ways, have passed the summit, and are now descending the hill of life. Their habits of thought and modes of action, were long ago fixed and settled. Their political prejudices long ago became strong, through the potent influence of years of party controversy. The great work of Humanity, which we are now called to undertake and accomplish, imperatively demands of us, to lay aside all prejudice, both party and sectarian animosities. Forgetting the paltry objects of past party divisions, we must awake to the noble ambition, to the fixed purpose of soul, to live, pray, love and toil, for the world's redemption and salvation, in Jesus Christ. We must press on and ever onward in this only true and worthy life, till we arrive at our glorious home, and come to perfection of knowledge, holiness, love and joy, in the presence of our Lord.

This work of reform cannot be accomplished, nor really advanced, by minds controlled by sectarian or party prejudice. Perhaps we ought not to expect, that a majority of those who have passed the meridian of life, will lay aside *all* prejudice, and at once come heartily and freshly into this work. Men sometimes do this, I know. Some noble men there

are, who are always young, with the freshness of heart and the tenderness of conscience of opening life unimpaired. Would to God there were more such! But this is not the general result of a long life and a fierce struggle in our selfish world. The heart grows old and tough too often, with the increase of years; and the prejudices of education, being long cherished, become a habit of the mind, from which few can break away. Fondest welcome, reverence and love, then, be given to the aged and the wise, who are now faithfully employed in this great work of universal Christian Humanity. So also to all in the maturity or advance of life, who will come boldly up to the help of the Lord's pleading children, against the terrible slave-power.

But whoever else may engage in this sublime enterprise, it is, after all, most emphatically committed to the young, the affectionate, the generous, the ardent, to those yet uncontaminated by close and long contact with a heartless world. Behold, then, my dear young friends, the glorious mission to which God calls you. Listen to the heavenly summons. Gird on the Divine panoply of truth, faith and love, and enter upon the arduous work of a sanctified and universal Humanity. Swell the ranks of liberty by your presence. Let your glad tones ring out in the front ranks of God's fast marshalling host. Help on the regeneration of the world. Lay not up your treasures upon the earth. Secure enduring treasures of love in the hearts of your brother men, for then shall you have priceless and eternal treasure in the Kingdom of God. Be not controlled by a selfish, paltry ambition. Be good, and *then* you will be great. Love, and strive to promote the highest well-being of man, and *then* you shall be loved in return, and you shall be truly and for ever blessed. Three millions of slaves, your own brothers, your own sisters, though branded, chained and despised, turn upon *you* their

weeping eyes, stretch out to *you* their manacled hands, and lift up unto *you* their pleading voices for deliverance from their insupportable sorrows. Oh ! turn ye upon those beseeching eyes the bright beams of brotherly love,—grasp those manacled hands with the strong earnestness of deep sympathy, of fond affection,—respond to those entreating tones of pleading sorrow in the divine words of our Prince and deliverer, “Lo, I come to do thy will, O God, to set these wailing captives free, to bind up these broken hearts, to open the iron door of bondage for the deliverance of these dear imprisoned brethren, to pour the light of love and truth into these immortal minds, shrouded in thick darkness through the rapacity and injustice of their brother man, to sound aloud through the world, again and again, the glad heavenly song,

- “Glory to God in the Heavens ;
Peace and good will to man on earth.”

Come ! for all things are now ready. Let God’s Spirit in this propitious hour, witness, approve and seal your inward purpose, your holy vow, from this moment to consecrate your opening energies, your matured powers, your last mental aspirations on the shores of time, to the heavenly enterprise of giving to all mankind a peaceful, happy place in the Christian Brotherhood of Fraternity, Liberty, and Equality. Enter yourself into the family of Jesus. Lead others with you into the blessed circle of love, and peace, and joy in God. Oh ! that the young men and young women of our day, would awake to a true sense of their responsibilities, and, girded with an immovable faith in God and a divine love for man, would enter upon a life of true holy beneficence. For *then*, slavery and all wrong-doing would soon be banished from the earth, and our world would become a paradise of love, piety and happiness.

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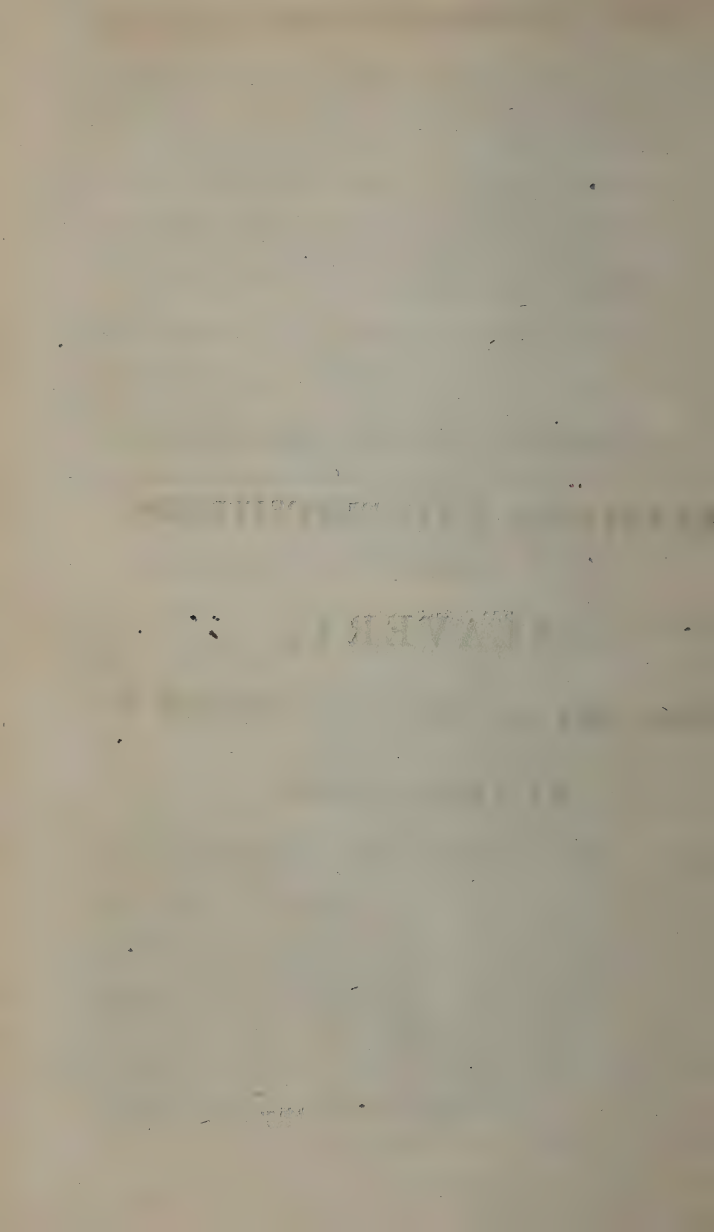
QUESTIONS AND EXPOSITIONS

OF

SLAVERY,

OBTAINED FROM THOSE WHO HAVE EXPERIENCED IT,

BY THE AUTHOR.



QUESTIONS AND EXPOSITIONS OF SLAVERY.

Are not England and France united in preventing the extension of Russian serfdom and Slavery?

Are they not in favor of preventing the extension of American Slavery?

Has it not become a serious question in the United States whether Liberty or Slavery shall be National?

If Jefferson (who wrote our Declaration of Independence) was alive, would he not rebuke us?

Would he not have good reason for the exclamations of his latter days, viz.—“Ye degenerate sons, I tremble for my country, when I consider that God is just, &c.”

Could our present Ruler have been elected, had it been known he was pledged to Slavery?

Was he not bribed by the Slavers before he was put in nomination?

Was he not thereby entirely under their control, and one of their subjects?

Were not some of the Members of Congress, from the free states, likewise bribed?

Did not all those doughface traitors to Freedom expose themselves by breaking the Missouri compromise?

Did not the Slave Government reward them, by other offices, after their constituents had cast them off?

Is not the breaking of said Missouri Compact, far the greatest sacrilege ever committed in this country?

Is not all our North-West Territory, beyond Missouri, thereby exposed to the evils and curse of Slavery?

Is not said Territory (latterly called Kansas and Nebraska) large as twenty states of Massachusetts?

Have not the Slavers and their emissaries taunted us, that the men of the Free states did the deed?

Have we not to lament that some of them assisted, and pray for deliverance from such traitors' to freedom?

Have we as many of them to misrepresent us, in the present Congress, as we had in the last?

Have we not already began to feel the effects of their villany, in breaking said compromise?

Have not the slavers committed the most lawless and outrageous doings on the borders of Kansas?

Have they not endeavored to check emigration from the free states, by various false assertions, and induced many to return?

Have they not obliged claimants of land, in secluded places, to absquatulate, for favoring freedom?

Have they not grossly insulted and maltreated others, for favoring freedom, and likewise for acting in self-defence?

Have they not usurped the entire control of said territory, by the grossest fraud and injustice?

Did they not force the elections in their favor, by going into Kansas at the time of election?

Did they not go there from Missouri in armed mobs, some of them half intoxicated, appoint their judges, and usurp the control?

Did not those from the free states, constitute a large majority of actual settlers, as was previously ascertained?

Did they not go there peaceably, expecting the right of suffrage which they previously enjoyed?

Did not said mobs from Missouri, plunder and rob them of their rights and offices?

Did they not coerce Gov. Reeder, to give most of them certificates

Did he have any means of redress, were they not emissaries of the general government?

Did not Atchison, the Vice President, and other slavers go and lecture among them previously, to instigate all this?

Did it not originate and remain in keeping, with President Pierce, and most of his cabinet?

Did not the free states act honorably respecting emigration, and the slave states dishonorably?

Did not the slavers raise \$10,000 ostensibly to assist emigration, and squander it in paying said Missouri mobs?

Did not said mobs return to Missouri in large processions after their lawless outrage on the elective franchise?

Did they not exult in the disgraceful exploit, and exclaim—"We have met the enemy and they are ours," with other sottish demonstrations, &c.?

Did they not wisely keep clear at the next election to fill vacancies, and freedom prevail?

Did not Stringfellow, their bully, afterwards grossly insult Gov. Reeder, respecting their sham legislature?

Did they not then change the place appointed by him for said meeting at Pawnee?

Did they not locate it near the border of Missouri under false pretences?

Did they not thereby retreat, like highway robbers, towards their local den?

Did they not fear the free settlers, whom they had robbed of their rights and offices?

Did they not afterwards reject those few freemen, who were chosen at the 2d election?

Did they not substitute others in their places, and thereby have them all in favor of slavery?

Did they not feel ashamed to have Gov. Reeder oversee their unlawful proceedings?

Did they not request President Pierce to remove him, and appoint another?

Did he not appoint one of said traitors, who helped break the compact and occasioned these troubles?

Did this not render the entire government of the territory in favor of slavery, and stifle freedom in its councils?

Did they not enact the Missouri slave code of laws, and others more unjust and despotic?

Will not the law be unjust, which allows voting on payment of one dollar without distinction of residence?

Will not those of Missouri, and other slave states, go and return the same and the following day, and at little expense?

Will not those of the free states, require from three to ten days, and at large expense?

Will not the law be unjust also, which requires the payment of bonds and imprisonment, to abide their arbitrary laws?

Did not the settlers become disgusted, call a convention, elect officers, and organize a government of their own?

Did not the Missourians endeavor to frustrate this, by shooting, murdering and creating a civil war?

Will our National Congress allow and sanction the acts of said lawless usurpers?

Will they allow the settlers from the free states to be insulted and abused by the slavers?

Will they allow them to become enslaved, and that large territory to become slave states?

Will the free states shamefully submit to all this additional en-

Will they not repent having heretofore allowed its extension, until it begins to assume arbitrary power?

Would not this large extension allow slavery to control the United States hereafter?

Would not such control ultimately sink our free institutions and civilized nationality?

Would not these states afterwards become a hissing and bye-word among the nations?

Would not the fathers of our republic arise to rebuke such shameful treachery to freedom?

Did they not contend and fight a seven years' war to obtain that priceless blessing?

Did they expect that their next generation would allow slavery to become national?

Did they not leave records to show that they intended to allow slavery no extension, but to remain sectional?

Was not the exclamation of Jefferson, in his latter days, also significant of the fact?

Was not the government of England harmless compared to the tyrannical government of slave holders?

Have we not already experienced such specimens of their lawless injustice as to warn us of the future?

Shall we fold our arms, and allow their extension as heretofore, until they extend slavery over us?

Would they not, by substituting such men as Judge Kane, legalize slavery in the free states?

Did they not, with said judge, manifest this disposition, by trying to legalize their transit through free states?

Did they not say they would yet count their slaves on Bunker Hill?

Is not this the place where our fathers fought the first battle against slavery?

Is not the Monument erected over their sepulchre significant of the fact?

Would they not arise and come forth to rebuke such treachery to the principles for which they fought?

Would they not frown to insignificance all such traitors to rational freedom and happiness?

Would it not cause them to realize the fact that they were possessed of devils and evil spirits?

Would they not thereby seek to hide themselves, by running down the hill and plunging into the sea?

Are not slave holders possessed of worse devils to humanity than were the herd of swine?

Where is the beginning or the ending of their injustice and treachery to freedom?

Do not our laws allow freedom of labor, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press?

Have they not violated all these sacred rights and privileges when they chose?

Did they not deny the right of petition on slavery in the district and city of Washington?

Did not J. Q. Adams nobly contend and obtain said right amid their cries of treason &c.?

Did it not relieve the disgusting and barbarous sight of chained gangs of slaves sold in said streets and district?

Did they not oppose the duty on foreign manufactured goods in order to check the mechanism of the free states?

Did not the want of such duties paralise said business here by the unequal competition?

Did not our mechanics require said protection until they could

Did not Henry Clay nobly contend and obtain sufficient duties to enable them to do it in due time?

Did not South Carolina nullify said law, and threaten a separation from the Union, in Jackson's administration?

Did not the slavers, under said administration, reduce said duties so low as to check and paralyze it again?

Did they not thereby occasion a large glut of foreign manufactured goods, and consequent drain of specie from this country?

Did we not realise the effect of this by the great depression, failures and sufferings of all classes from 1836 to 1840?

Did we not succeed in the next administration to raise said duties, and sustain our domestic business?

Had not said foreign goods accumulated sufficient to glut our markets, and prevent realizing such sustenance for near two years after?

Have not said goods always depressed our domestic business by smuggling, and deceptive invoices, and packing, &c.?

Have not our mechanics almost fulfilled the predictions of Henry Clay, of crowning our independence?

Have they not shown that they will yet acquire the requisite capacity to fulfill said prediction?

Have they not for many years furnished most kinds of manufactured goods at 1-3 and 1-2 the former prices?

Have they not furnished a home market for slave produce and other productions, and for the labor of manufacturing?

Have they not enabled the poorer classes to live in good condition, and many of them equal with themselves?

Have they not increased the wealth and honor of the free states faster than any other like community on the globe?

Have they not saved the states the untold millions said goods would have cost if imported?

Is not all this far better, and more honorable to the country, than the slavers system of paralyzing it?

Is it not more patriotic than shipping their materials, and employing foreign mechanics 3000 miles distant?

Is it not less expensive than obtaining such goods by 6000 miles transit, subject to disasters of the ocean?

Would not their system of allowing said foreign competition have been ruinous by paralyzing said business?

Would it not have served us as it has Spain, South America, Mexico, Canada and other places?

Are not the slavers a cause of just reproach and shame for all their evil propensities?

Are they not like the ancient Goths and Vandals to rational freedom and happiness?

Are not many of their children, and the middling classes generally, induced to remove to the free states?

Are the middling or working classes able to live in competition with their slaves?

Are not the slave states mostly extinct of them, and their places supplied by slaves?

Does not Western Virginia show the only exception to this degrading and disgraceful fact?

Did not those patriots of freedom cause alarm and great exertions among the slavers at the last election?

Did not the result of said election cause great rejoicing and illumination by the slavers?

Did not the slavers proxy votes, of three for every five slaves, save their Virginia bacon?

Are they not made proxy by their slaves, of two millions four hundred thousand votes in the elections?

Are they not thus arbiters of the votes of their 4 000 000 slaves?

Are not those of the free states, as justly entitled to three votes for every five of their cattle?

Are not the slaves estimated and disposed of as cattle, and many of them with less respect, by their masters?

Are not the elections in slave states carried by Baron Slavers, who rob the working class of sharing in them?

Are not the elections in free states carried by the working class, and no robbery of freedom thereby?

Are not those of the free states the most prosperous and happy people on the globe?

Are not the people of all other nations migrating to the free states, and shunning the slave states?

Are they willing to have said free states become enslaved, and robbed of their freedom?

Are they willing to have Bishop Hughes their pilot, and be wrecked on the rocks and shoals of slavery?

Does not said Bishop expose his infallibility to ridicule by favoring slavery?

Does it require the wisdom of a Bishop or Priest to decide the merits of human slavery?

Does not any one of common sense know that it makes the rich richer and the poor poorer?

Do they not know that it helps only those who are able to own the slaves and rob them of their labor and progeny?

Do they not know that all the free working classes are more or less robbed thereby?

Does not the fact that said classes remove from the slave to the free states prove this true?

Where will said classes seek a free country hereafter if they allow this to be enslaved?

Will they cross the Atlantic to the land of their forefathers in quest of freedom?

Would such prodigal children be received there with open arms?

Would they seek freedom in the free land of Liberia, would the children of kidnappers be received there?

Alas! for the ultimate condition of all those who are treacherous to freedom.

Were the original slaves from Africa thus guilty of assisting to their own fate?

Were they not kidnapped from their own native land by the slavers, and robbed of their freedom?

Were they not confined to plantations and involuntary servitude during their life-time?

Were they not subject to the lash, and robbed of their children when they could be sold?

Have not said slavers kidnapped many colored people from the free states?

Have we not evidence of this in the persons and history of S. Northrop and others, who had the fortune to escape?

Have we not reason to think that many others like them have perished and died in slavery?

Have we not reason to think that many others, like them, do now suffer and pine in slavery?

Ought those who uphold slavery to be allowed office or favor in free country?

Would not our native people have been settled and acclimated south if slavery had not existed?

Would not the same productions have been raised and to a greater extent?

Would not the soil have been far more productive by the culture of

Do not the poor and middling classes feel the effects of slavery extended over half the states?

Do they not, together with the foreigners, live in the free states to avoid the evils of slavery?

Do not many of them suffer in consequence thereof during the cold winter months?

Do they not begin to feel that slavery at the South occasions poverty and slavery at the North?

Do they not consider that to extend slavery, excludes freedom and increases said evil?

Do they not consider that such extension over said territory would give slavery arbitrary power hereafter?

Do they not consider that such power would ultimately legalize slavery in the free states?

Do they not consider that they would thereby have to commingle and compete for support with slaves?

Do they not consider that the rich would thereby be made richer, and the poor poorer?

Are not the young who are coming on the stage preparing their own destiny, either for weal or woe?

Are not a large majority of posterity destined to ultimate degradation if slavery prevails?

Are they willing to assist in this, and ultimately become like the serfs of Russia?

Are they not more willing to preserve our free nationality and Institutions than those of slavery?

Are they not more willing to preserve the equality of freedom than the inequality of slavery?

Are not the slaves subject to a wide difference of treatment in their servile employ?

Are not the house and body slaves, often petted, and treated with kind respect?

Are not the masses of them who work in the fields made to feel the horrors of slavery?

Are not many of them often singled out, and made to feel the tyranny of the overseer?

Are not the overseers more tyrannical when the master is absent, which is often the case?

Are not most of them ruffian vagabonds, and frequently half intoxicated?

Will not our great western Rail Road to the Pacific pass through said N. W. Territory?

Will it not look more commendable to see it settled with white people than with slaves black as Africa?

Will not agriculture and villages, the arts and sciences, be fostered by freemen, and disparaged by slavers?

If the slavers become overstocked with slaves, will not the colonization, and other societies, afford them relief?

Have not the Slavers resorted to the grossest injustice in our public, local and domestic affairs?

Have they not prohibited presses from favoring freedom, and destroyed several of them?

Have they not established presses in favor of slavery; and do we molest them?

Have they not grossly insulted and murdered editors of papers for favoring freedom?

Have they not imprisoned Individuals until death, on suspicion of aiding slaves to liberty?

Have they not imprisoned colored seamen while in their ports, and sold some of them into perpetual Slavery?

Did not the Carolinians deny his mission, and treat him with contempt, and threats of tar and feathers?

Did not Massachusetts at the same time send an Agent to Louisiana, who received like contempt?

When their colored people visit us, do we imprison them, except at their request.

When Col. Suttle allowed his slave Burns here to test the Fugitive Law, did we not allow his liberty?

When he came for him, saying he was going to try our pluck, did we not allow his mission, and buy Burns's freedom?

When he flunked, and refused the \$1,200, did we not allow them to depart with military escort?

When he afterwards sold him into slavery for \$900, did we not again buy his freedom for \$1,200?

Did he not return to the land of freedom, and is he not receiving education at Oberlin College as Missionary to those of his race?

Did not his ignorance shew the want of education, and the effects of slavery in stifling it?

Do not the slavers become accountable for the talents they hide, by coercive slavery and ignorance?

Do they not deserve the sentence of him who hid his lord's talents, and of the unjust steward? viz.: Depart from me ye cursed, and go away into everlasting punishment, &c.

Does not God require of all the increase of their talents that he may receive his with usury?

Have they not lived by the coercive labor of slaves so long that they have become like maniacs?

Have they not increased by coercive means from six states to fifteen States?

Have they not been aggressive and hypocritical to the national liberty and freedom which we profess?

Have they not taken the lion's share of all our public territory?—Have they not taken and usurped the whole?

Have they not taken and made six states of Louisiana, which we bought of France for \$15,000,000?

Have they not taken Florida which we bought of Spain for \$5,000,000?

Have they not taken Texas, which cost by conquest and bonds more than the above?

Have they not taken New Mexico, which cost by conquest, &c., untold millions of dollars?

Have they not resolved to divide and make several more Slave States of Texas and New Mexico?

Have they not lately usurped the last of our free territory and are robbing it of freedom?

Have they not previously pledged by satisfactory consideration that all should be free north of 36 degrees, which includes the said territory?

Have they not shown a disposition to rob our southern neighbors in like manner?

Have they not sacrificed all sense of justice and conscience to their idol, the peculiar institution?

Have they not rendered themselves morally insignificant, and disgraced our National Union and character?

Have we not good and righteous reasons for contending against their last act of aggression and usurpation?

Would free emigration find an extension afterwards beyond the State of Missouri?

Would the slavers not say, as they do now, we don't want a Free State so near us?

Would they not soon maintain ascendancy and say thus far hast

Would they not afterwards usurp the power to legalize Slavery over the Free States as they chose?

Would they not ultimately subvert our Free and substitute Slave Institutions?

Would they not ultimately render the Free like the Slave States, and the middling classes like the serfs of Russia?

Would they not thereby render the inequality of property far worse than in Russia?

Ought we not to take due consideration and counsel on this important subject?

Ought it not to cast all other political subjects into the shades of oblivion?

Ought not all the Free States to unite, and contend in behalf of Free Nationality?

Ought they to allow the emissaries of Slavery to divide them as heretofore?

Are not said emissaries scattered all over the Free States? Is not bribery and treachery in the camp?

Are not these, some of their false assertions, to quell and stifle public indignation?

Let Slavery alone, it would have been abolished long ago, if Abolitionists kept still.

Is it not notoriously false that said consummation has been delayed by what was said in favor of freedom?

Have they not always clung for support on the slave like Death to a dead negro?

Are not the Slaves happy? Yes, when excited to mirth, like monks, not conscious of their depravity.

Are they not well off, as those who work in factories and other prisons, &c.

Do not factory operatives obtain sufficient wages, to live in good style, and many of them equal to their employers?

Do they not work voluntarily, where they please, without fear of the lash, or having their children sold?

It is true, that such of them as allow King Alcohol to enslave them, are an exception.

Have they not a right to the slaves? Yes, the same as those who share and partake of other injustice and robbery.

Are the Slaves capable of education? Have we not specimens of their capacity for learning?

Do not Frederick Douglass, and many others, prove they are superior to their masters?

Are the Slaves able to live farther north, in colder climate, to advantage or profit?

Do we not find them scattered voluntarily, over Canada and many of the States, as far north as New Brunswick and Maine?

Are not the Slaveholders very liberal and generous in their dealings and trade?

Do they not obtain the means of their slaves? and should they not bestow liberality on them?

Slavery is decreasing, and would die out if left alone, and not agitated so much.

Do they not occasion the agitation by usurping Kansas and Nebraska, to make freedom die out?

The Slave States will discontinue trade with the free, if not allowed the extension.

Do we estimate their trade equal to freedom! Shall we sell our Birthright for pottage?

Do we not know they have been discontinuing our trade for many years, by substituting the foreign trade?

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Do we not know that the trade of our Western free States, is far better than that of Slave States?

The slave states will dissolve the Union, unless you allow their extension.

Do we not consider it more just and honorable to allow their separation, than their extension?

Do we deserve freedom if we allow said extension of their base institution and nuisance?

Do we not know that by allowing their separation, we could maintain freedom from slavery?

The Slaveholders hate Abolitionists and fanatics, Agitators and disunionists, &c.

Are those Abolitionists &c., who merely contend against its extension into Kansas and Nebraska, which were pledged to freedom?

Are not the Slaves the Abolitionists? and have they not good reasons for being so?

Are not those who are trying to force slavery into Kansas and Nebraska, the fanatics, agitators, disunionists, &c.

Are they not deserving the execration and detestation of the whole human race?

Are they not exposing the ruffian propensities, which slavery entails on its votaries?

Do they not employ white men from the free states to oversee and breed their slaves?

Do they not dismiss them when exhausted and employ others who are fresh?

Do we not find that Slavery renders its owners Immoral, Inhuman and Debased?

Do they not discard all Preachers, except those who induce submission to slavery?

Do not such preach, Slaves, be obedient to your masters, for that is right in the Lord &c.

Do they not also substitute other false assertions and perversions of the Bible?

Do they not thereby induce the Slaves to believe that God ordained Slavery and their present condition?

Do not most of them exclude Education, and many of them Preaching of any sort?

Did not Senator Wise's Letters to Dr. Adams, and Dr. Stone, shew how Slavery had debased him?

Did not his previous conduct, in challenging and shooting Senator Cilley &c expose his reckless depravity?

Did not the Slavers reward these tokens of Loyalty, to their base Institution, by electing him a Governor of slavery?

Does not Slavery deceive those who view it, only on the South, or Sunny Side, without reflection?

Does it deceive those, who have the humanity to examine, and see that the Shady Side, offsets, and obscures the Sunny Side?

Does not the Shady Side, expose the Sunny light, hid under a bushel, shewing their deeds are evil?

Does this fulfil the Command, that all should let their lights so shine, as to glorify their Father in Heaven?

Do we not suffer the shame of having fellow-beings, doomed to endless Slavery and the Lash?

Do we not, by knowing and allowing this great injustice, become shamefully accessory in the crime?

Do we not have reason to think, that we know but little of its enormity, in secluded places?

Do they not expose outer darkness, where there is weeping and wailing and gnashing of teeth?

Do not the histories of many of them, expose such outrageous, and reckless enormity?

Do not the writings and information of many others, go far to confirm it?

Do not Slavers deserve further condemnation, by their intrigues, to extend this great evil?

Do they not now hold the reins of this Republic, by means of intrigue, bribery and deception?

Have they not removed the free and put pro-slavery men in all our public offices?

Have not those emissaries of slavery, substituted others in many of our State, and most other offices?

Have not those hired traitors to freedom, exposed their partiality in favor of Slavery?

Have they not endeavored to control public opinion in favor of extending Slavery?

Have we not been annoyed by their false assertions, on the subject of Slavery?

Have they not also annoyed us, by calling our manufacturers and mechanics, monopolists and aristocrats?

Are those monopolists and aristocrats, who employ free Labor, with water and Mechanical power?

Are not those the monopolists and aristocrats, who employ slave labor and monopolise human freedom?

Are not many in the free States so depraved, that they allow stimulants to intoxicate, and render them frivolous and inconsiderate?

Are not such easily duped in favor of slavery, by the false reasoning of said emissaries?

Are not many others also duped, by the base idea of ease and happiness in owning slaves?

Are such conscious of the reality that they thus rob them of their dearest birthright, Relatives, Liberty and Independance?

Are they conscious of the fact, that they rob the Labor of Freemen of its hire and dependence?

Are they conscious of the fact, that all the working classes are thereby becoming more or less robbed?

Are they conscious of the fact, that Slaves cost from one to \$2000, and a few, comparatively, are able to own and employ them?

Are they conscious of the fact, that some Slaveholders become poor, sell out, and work by hire?

Are they conscious of the fact, that such, (if confined to a slave state) would be unable to recover their standing?

Are we not unjust, to allow so many to become duped, by frivolous unconsciousness and swell the Slave monster?

Shall we allow the Reptile to crawl abroad as heretofore, charming other Dupes to fall powerless in its slimy embrace, like smaller subjects of creation?

Shall we allow this rapacious monster to traverse, and encircle us all in his anaconda grasp?

Are we not bound by the records of our Fathers and Predecessors, to allow him no extension?

Are we not committing suicide to our Independence and Freedom if we commit this sacrilege?

Do we not justly honour their remembrance, by the yearly celebration of the Birth of our Liberty?

Do we deserve like honor from our Posterity, if we sacrifice the priceless Inheritance, and leave them in Slavery?

Would not many of us, live to see the time, and realize its degrading retribution!

Would not shame and remorse, induce us to call on the Hills and Rocks, to fall and cover us, and our disgrace, from Posterity?

Would not the serfs and slaves ultimately become so numerous, as to assert and acquire their freedom?

Would not the slaves have done this heretofore, were they assured that the free states would not interfere?

Would the Slavers have this safe guard, if they monopolised the free states with their subjects?

Would not indignation and revolution, subvert slavery and let the enslaved go free?

Are there not signs that the present Drama has been acted before in this country?

Are not the remains of ancient fortified Towns and Forts, in the central parts, significant of it?

Are not those the places of refuge, where the slavers and emissaries perished, contending against freedom?

Are not the records and remembrance of their history justly obliterated and lost in oblivion?

Are not the aborigines of North and South America, the descendants of serfs and slaves?

Are they not true representatives, of what slavery and ignorance entails on the human Race?

Are not those mementos Significant of the injustice of the Age, in which they were erected?

Are not we of the present age, deserving of like fate, if we relapse into like degradation?

Do we not receive the ridicule and reproach of other nations by our hypocrisy to freedom, and duplicity to slavery?

Do not some at the North, who have relatives at the South, seek to palaver, and favor slavery?

Do such fulfil the commands, deal justly with all men, if thy Brother transgress, reprove him &c.

Do they justly consider the punishment denounced by the Almighty on transgressors and evildoers &c.

Do they not become an accomplice in the crime, by aiding and encouraging it?

Do they consider, that by assuming to render a few happy, they render thousands unhappy?

Do they consider, that freedom and equal rights and privileges are justly due to all human beings?

Do they consider, that by conceding this, both masters and servants, would be far better off?

Do they not find it *uphill work*, to torture the Bible in favor of their base Institution!

Do they find any consistent argument to sustain such outrageous absurdity?

Do they not frequently obtain forgiveness and favor of their slaves, by allowing them presents and privileges?

Do they justly recompense them in this way, for robbing and selling their children and relatives?

Do the slaves thereby, have any heirs or relatives, with whom to bequeath their effects?

Do not their effects, all revert to their masters, together with the soil of their lives?

Do they not publish deceptive song books, to induce the belief that their slaves are happy?

Do they not require them to dress in good style, when visited by people of the free states?

Do they not require them to perform various active and expert evolutions when offered for sale?

Do they not endeavor to keep them in such ignorance, that they hardly know the meaning of liberty?

Do they not restrict and oppress them with their own laws?

Do they not enact despotic Laws of the blackest dye, to sustain their base Institution?

Do they not boast that they will extend slavery wherever they please?

Do they not boast that they will raise 100,000 men, to meet the North, if necessary?

Do they consider their slaves would make good soldiers, in such cause and contention?

Do they imagine that the Free States, will abide and extend such nuisance, and braggadocio?

Did not God Command us to do unto others, as we would have others do unto us?

Did He not also ordain, that we should earn our bread, in the sweat of the brow!

Did He expect us to do this, by enslaving our fellow beings to involuntary and coercive servitude?

Did He not denounce woe, on all those who pervert his commands and ordinances?

Did He not give us the Ox, the Horse, the Camel &c., to assist our labor?

Did He not also give us the capacity to employ Mechanical and Water power to do it?

Is it not lawful just and honorable to employ these substitutes for our Labor?

Is it not unlawful unjust and dishonorable to employ coercive slave labor?

Is not Slavery far the greatest wrong in this country, and a disgrace to any civilized community?

Are we not all accessory to the fact, and guilty, if we allow of its extension?

Are we unconscious of the condition of our country, in regard to National Freedom being on the verge of slavery?

Are we not bound by the ties of Christianity to check this mighty evil?

Did not Henry Clay, set an example, which would make a beginning of the end?

Did he not emancipate his Slaves, after the ages 25 and 28, with education &c., to sustain themselves?

Did not this act of Justice, go far to offset the previous injustice?

Could not others be induced to emancipate their Slaves, in a similar way?

Could they not all be induced to do it, by raising the prices of slave produce?

Is not the usual price of cotton and other slave produce, far below its intrinsic value?

Is there a rational free Person, who would not pay double the usual prices for such produce?

Would he not feel more than compensated, by the consciousness of doing so great an act of charity?

Would not all, including the slavers, enjoy like satisfaction, by such emancipation?

Would not the Slaves, by education and anticipation of freedom, become ambitious?

Would they not thus become more intelligent, capable, serviceable and becoming?

Would they not ultimately become assimilated, as they have already commenced?

Are they not becoming white, of all shades, some, white as their masters?

Are they not capable, with common education, to take care of themselves?

Are not many of them, already self taught sufficient to do it, as many of us see ?

Are not some of them obtaining a good living in all the free states and Canada ?

Are they not shrewd, and possess the requisite capacity, to take care of themselves ?

Would not the gradual emancipation, enable the Master and Servant to contract afterwards, if they wished ?

Would not each have the liberty, to contract with those whom they liked best ?

Would not such servants, by having wages, do far more and better work and, without a Driver ?

Would not all humanity rejoice, for the emancipation of those unfortunate Beings ?

Would not our Country become quiet, by enjoying equal rights, and rational freedom ?

Would not God grant our desire, if we all act in accordance with it ?

ANTI-SLAVERY TRACTS. No. 5. *New Series.*

DANIEL O'CONNELL

UPON

AMERICAN SLAVERY:

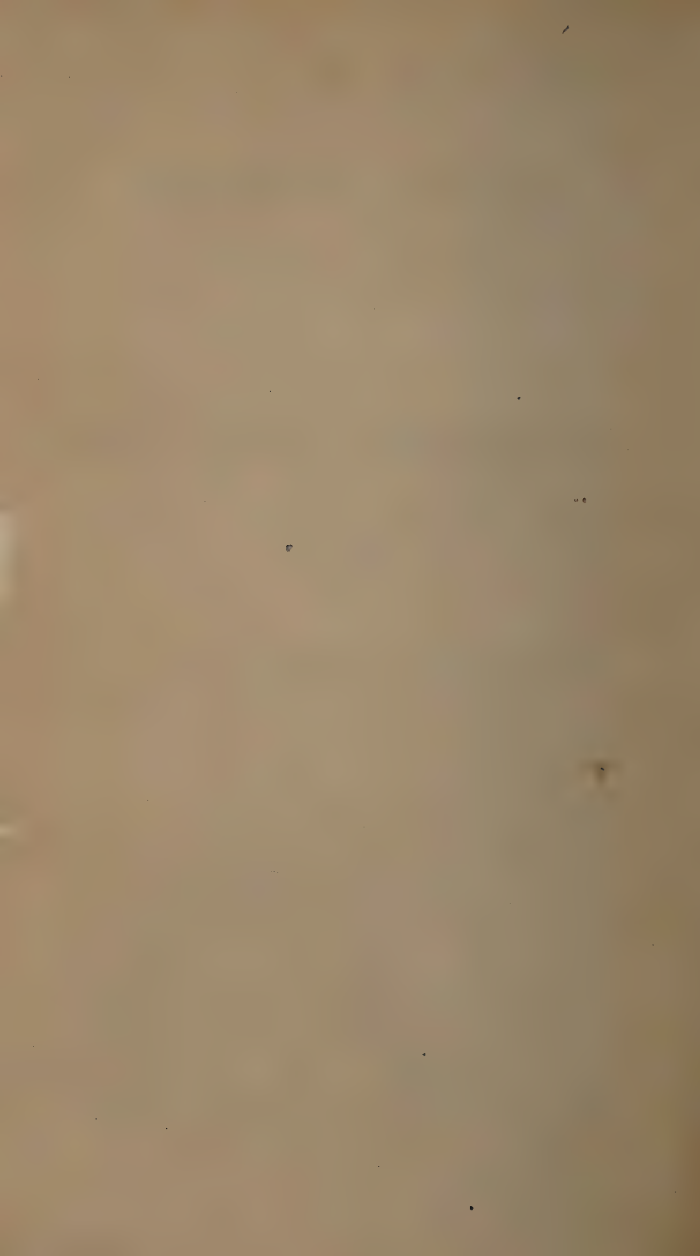
WITH

OTHER IRISH TESTIMONIES.

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1860.



P R E F A C E .

AMONG all the distinguished and eloquent advocates of negro emancipation, on either side of the Atlantic, perhaps no one has ever surpassed in earnestness of zeal, or potency of speech, the late DANIEL O'CONNELL, the "Irish Liberator." Especially was his soul filled with horror and disgust in view of the existence and rapid growth of slavery in America. Whenever he heard our boasts of freedom and equality, and read our Heaven-attested Declaration of Independence, that "ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, AND ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS, AMONG WHICH ARE LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS," and then saw us shamelessly putting millions of an unfortunate race under the lash of the slave-driver, trafficking in their bodies and souls, and depriving them of every human right, a mighty moral conflagration instantly kindled within him ! It was then that the flames of his indignation burst out in awful grandeur and with consuming power, the intensity of which, spreading over the vast Atlantic, was felt in every section of our guilty land. To quote his own words :— "It is not England alone that is stained with the crime of oppression: the democratic republic of America shares in the guilt. Oh, the inconsistency of these apostles of liberty, talking of freedom, while they basely and wickedly continue the slavery of their fellow-men ! A republican is naturally proud and high-minded, and we may make the pride of the North American republicans the very weapon with which to break down slavery." Such, too, was the spirit of Ireland's native poet, THOMAS MOORE, as expressed in the following lines, descriptive of this terribly paradoxical republic :—

"Who can, with patience, for a moment see
The medley mass of pride and misery,
Of whips and charters, manacles and rights,
Of slaving blacks and democratic whites,
And all the piebald policy that reigns
In free confusion o'er Columbia's plains ?
To think that man, thou just and gentle God !
Should stand before thee with a tyrant's rod,
O'er creatures like himself, with souls from thee,
Yet dare to boast of perfect liberty !

Away ! away ! I'd rather hold my neck
 By doubtful tenure from a Sultan's beck,
 In climes where liberty has scarce been nam'd,
 Nor any right but that of ruling claim'd,
 Than thus to live where boasted Freedom waves
 Her fustian flag in mockery over SLAVES !
 Where motley laws, (admitting no degree
 Betwixt the basely slav'd and madly free,)
 Alike the bondage and the license suit —
 The brute made ruler, and the man made brute ! ”

There was something sublime in the attitude maintained by O'CONNELL upon the question of American slavery. If he had courted popularity in this country, he would either have flattered our vices or extenuated our crimes; but he loved uncompromising justice more than he did the transient reputation which general corruption bestows upon its apologist, and impartial liberty more than fame. Every effort was made by the leading Irishmen in the United States, through their “Repeal Associations,” to bribe or to bully him into silence on this subject; but he nobly defied their malice, rebuked their baseness, and spurned their blood-stained money. He rightly predicted that the real friends of freedom on this side of the Atlantic would sympathize with him, and rejoice that he had the moral courage to “tear down the image of liberty from the recreant hand of America, and condemn her as the vilest of hypocrites, the greatest of liars.”

Such was the spirit of DANIEL O'CONNELL — brave, ingenuous, disdain-ing every trammel, scorning every bribe, soaring above all national and all personal considerations ! — “I do not hesitate,” he said, “to declare my opinions. I never faltered in my own sentiments. We might have shrunk from the question of American slavery, but I would consider such a course unworthy of me. We may not get money from America after this declaration; but we do not want blood-stained money. *Those who commit, and those who countenance the crime of slavery, I regard as the enemies of Ireland, and I desire to have no sympathy or support from them.* I am not bound to look to consequences, but to justice and humanity. Wherever slavery rears its head, I am the enemy of the system. I will take my part in the anti-slavery meeting; and *though it should be a blow against Ireland, IT IS A BLOW IN FAVOR OF HUMAN LIBERTY, AND I WILL STRIKE THAT BLOW.* In America, let them execrate me — *let their support be taken from Ireland* — slavery, I denounce you, wherever you are ! Come freedom, come slavery to Ireland — *let Ireland be as she may* — I will have my conscience clear before my God.”

In the following pages are embodied numerous extracts from the speeches of O'CONNELL, in reprobation of American slavery, and of all its abettors. Irishmen of America ! will you not give heed to these testimonies, and unite as one man in espousing the cause of those in bondage ?

EXTRACTS FROM THE SPEECHES OF O'CONNELL.

I now come to America, the boasted land of freedom ; and here I find slavery, which they not only tolerate but extend, justified and defended as a legacy left them by us. It is but too true. But I would say unto them, you threw off the allegiance you owed us, because you thought we were oppressing you with the Stamp Act. You boasted of your deliverance from slavery. On what principle, then, do you now continue your fellow-men in bondage, and render that bondage even more galling by ringing in the ears of the sufferers from your tyranny, what you have done, what you have suffered, for freedom ? They may retaliate upon us. They may reply by allusions to the slaveries we have established or encouraged. But what would be thought of that man who should attempt to justify the crime of sheep-stealing, by alleging that another stole sheep too ? Would such a defence be listened to ? Oh, no ; and I will say unto you, freemen of America, and the press will convey it to you almost as swift as the wind, that God understands you ; that you are hypocrites, tyrants, and unjust men ; that you are degraded and dishonored ; and I say unto you, dare not to stand up boasting of your freedom or your privileges, while you continue to treat men, redeemed by the same blood, as the mere creatures of your will ; for while you do so, there is a blot on your escutcheon which all the waters of the Atlantic cannot wash out.

* * * * *

Of all men living, an American citizen, who is the owner of slaves, is the most despicable ; he is a political hypocrite

of the very worst description. The friends of humanity and liberty, in Europe, should join in one universal cry of shame on the American slaveholders! "Base wretches," should we shout in chorus — "base wretches, how dare you profane the temple of national freedom, the sacred fane of republican rites, with the presence and the sufferings of human beings in chains and slavery?" — *Speech delivered at an Anti-Slavery Meeting in 1829.*

I speak of liberty in commendation. Patriotism is a virtue, but it can be selfish. Give me the great and immortal Bolivar, the savior and regenerator of his country. He found her a province, and he has made her a nation. His first act was to give freedom to the slaves upon his own estate. (Hear, hear.) In Colombia, all castes and all colors are free and unshackled. But how I like to contrast him with the far-famed northern heroes! George Washington! that great and enlightened character, — the soldier and the statesman, — had but one blot upon his character. He had slaves, and he gave them liberty when he wanted them no longer. (Loud cheers.) Let America, in the fullness of her pride, wave on high her banner of freedom and its blazing stars. I point to her, and say, There is one foul blot upon it; you have negro slavery. They may compare their struggles for freedom to Marathon and Leuctra, and point to the rifleman with his gun, amidst her woods and forests, shouting for liberty and America. In the midst of their laughter and their pride, I point them to the negro children screaming for the mother from whose bosom they have been torn. America, it is a foul stain upon your character! (Cheers.) This conduct, kept up by men who had themselves to struggle for freedom, is doubly unjust. Let them hoist the flag of liberty, with the whip and rack on one side, and the star of freedom upon the other. The Americans are a sensitive people; in fifty-four years they have increased their population from three millions to twenty millions; they have many glories that surround them, but their beams are partly shorn, for they have slaves. (Cheers.) Their hearts do not beat so strong for liberty as mine. * * * * * I will call for justice, in the name of the living God, and I shall find an echo in the breast of every human being. (Cheers.) — *Speech delivered at the Annual Meeting of the Cork Anti-Slavery Society, 1829.*

Ireland and Irishmen should be foremost in seeking to effect the emancipation of mankind. (Cheers.) * * * * * The Americans alleged that they had not perpetrated the crime, but inherited it from England. This, however, fact as it was, was still a paltry apology for America, who, asserting liberty for herself, still used the brand and the lash against others. (Hear.) He taunted America with the continuance of slavery; and the voice with which he there uttered the taunt would be wafted on the wings of the press, until it would be heard in the remote wilds of America; it would be wafted over the waters of the Missouri and those of the Mississippi; and even the slaves upon the distant banks of the Ohio would make his words resound in the ears of their heartless masters, and tell them to their face, that they were the victims of cruelty, injustice, and foul oppression. (Cheers.) Bright as was the page of American history, and brilliant as was the emblazonment of her deeds, still, negro slavery was a black, a "damning spot" upon it. Glorious and splendid as was the star-spangled banner of republican America, still it was stained with the deep, foul blot of human blood. — *Speech delivered at a Meeting of the Dublin Anti-Slavery Society, 1830.*

Man cannot have property in man. Slavery is a nuisance, to be put down, not to be compromised with; and to be assailed without cessation and without mercy by every blow that can be levelled at the monster. * * * * * Let general principles be asserted. And as it is the cause of religion and liberty, all that is wanted is the unwearied repetition of zealous advocacy to make it certainly triumphant. Let every man, then, in whatever position he may be placed, do his duty in crushing that hideous tyranny, which rends the husband from the wife, the children from their parents; which enables one human being, at his uncontrolled will, to apply the lash to the back of his fellow-man. — *Speech delivered at the London Anti-Slavery Society, 1830.*

We are responsible for what we do, and also for the influence of our example. Think you that the United States of America would be able to hold up their heads among the nations, — the United States, who shook off their allegiance to

their sovereign, and declared that it was the right of every man to enjoy freedom — of every man, whether black, white, or red; who made this declaration before the God of armies, and then, when they had succeeded in their enterprise, forgot their vow, and made slaves, and used the lash and the chain, — would they dare to take their place among the nations, if it were not that England countenances them in the practice? — *Speech delivered at the General Meeting of the British Anti-Slavery Society, 1831.*

My claim to be heard on this occasion is included in one sentence — I am an Abolitionist. (Cheering.) I am for speedy, immediate abolition. (Renewed cheers.) I care not what caste, creed, or color, slavery may assume. Whether it be personal or political, mental or corporeal, intellectual or spiritual, I am for its total, its instant abolition. (Great applause.) I enter into no compromise with slavery. I am for justice, in the name of humanity, and according to the law of the living God.

* * * * *

The time has now come, when every man who has honest feelings should declare himself the advocate of abolition. He who consents to tolerate crime is a criminal; and never will I lose the slightest opportunity, whether here or in the legislature, or any where else, to raise my voice for liberty, — for the extinction of slavery. (Great applause.) Humanity, justice and religion combine to call upon us to abolish this foul blot. But it is not England or Britain alone that is stained with this crime. The democratic Republic of America shares in the guilt. Oh! the inconsistency of these apostles of liberty talking of freedom, while they basely and wickedly continue the slavery of their fellow-men, the negroes of Africa! A republican is naturally proud and high-minded, and we may make the pride of the North American republicans the very weapon by which to break down slavery; for, if the example of England were gone, they could not, in the face of the world, continue the odious and atrocious system one moment longer. (Cheers.) Abolish it throughout the British colonies, and away it goes in America. (Renewed cheers.)

* * * * *

Slavery is a crime, a high crime against Heaven, and its annihilation ought not to be postponed. We have lately heard a good deal of the iniquity of the East India Company getting money from the poor, infatuated wretches who throw themselves beneath the wheel of Juggernaut's car. This is lamentable indeed; but what care I, whether the instrument of torture be a wheel or a lash? (Applause.) I am against Juggernaut, both in the East Indies and West Indies, and am determined, therefore, not to assist in perpetuating slavery. Is it possible, that where humanity, benevolence and religion are combined, there can be doubt of success? The priests of Juggernaut are respectable persons compared with those who oppose such a combination (applause); and I entreat you to assist in the great work by becoming its apostles. — *Speech delivered before the London Anti-Slavery Society, 1831.*

I will now go to America. I have often longed to go there, in reality; but, so long as it is tarnished by slavery, I will never pollute my foot by treading on its shores. (Cheers.) In the course of my Parliamentary duty, a few days ago, I had to arraign the conduct of the despot of the North, for his cruelty to the men, women and children of Poland; and I spoke of him with the execration he merits. But, I confess, that although I hate him with as much hatred as one Christian man can hate another human being, viz.: I detest his actions with abhorrence, unutterable and indescribable; yet there is a climax in my hatred. I would adopt the language of the poet, but reverse the imagery, and say,

“In the deepest hell, there is a depth still more profound,”

and that is to be found in the conduct of the American slave-owners. (Cheers.) They are the basest of the base—the most execrable of the execrable. I thank God, that upon the wings of the press, the voice of so humble an individual as myself will pass against the western breeze—that it will reach the rivers, the lakes, the mountains, and the glens of America—and that the friends of liberty there will sympathize with me, and rejoice that I here tear down the image of Liberty from the recreant hand of America, and condemn

her as the vilest of hypocrites — the greatest of liars. (Long continued cheers.)

When this country most unjustly and tyrannically oppressed its colonies, and insisted that a Parliament of borough-mongers in Westminster should have the power of putting their long fingers across the Atlantic into the pockets of the Americans, taking out as much as they pleased, and, if they found any thing, leaving what residuum they chose — America turned round, and appealed to justice, and she was right; appealed to humanity, and she was right; appealed to her own brave sword, and she was right, and I glory in it. At that awful period, when America was exciting all the nations of the world; when she was declaring her independence, and her inhabitants pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, and invoked the God of charity (whom they foolishly called the God of battles, which he is not, any more than he is the God of murder) — at that awful period, when they laid the foundation of their liberty, they began with these words: “We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” Thus the American has acknowledged what he cannot deny, viz., that God the Creator has endowed man with those inalienable rights. But it is not the white man, it is not the copper-colored man, nor is it the black man alone, who is thus endowed; it is all men who are possessed of these inalienable rights. The man, however, who cannot vote in any State assembly without admitting this as the foundation of his liberty, has the atrocious injustice, the murderous injustice, to trample upon these inalienable rights; as it were, to attempt to rob the Creator of his gifts, and to appropriate to himself his brother man, as if he could be his slave. (Cheers.) Shame be upon America! eternal shame be upon her escutcheon! (Loud cheers.)

Shortly there will not be a slave in the British colonies. Five lines in an Act of Parliament, the other night, liberated nearly 500,000 slaves in the East Indies, at a single blow. The West Indians will be obliged to grant emancipation, in spite of the paltry attempts to prevent it; and we will then turn to America, and to every part of Europe, and require eman-

cipation. (Cheers.) No! they must not think that they can boast of their republican institutions—that they can talk of their strength and their glory. Unless they abolish slavery, they must write themselves down liars, or call a general convention of the States, and blot out the first sentence of their Declaration of Independence, and write in its place, “Liberty in America means the power to flog slaves, and to work them for nothing.” (Loud applause.) * * * *

The voice of Europe will proclaim the slave’s deliverance, and will say to him, “Shed no blood, but take care that your blood be not shed.” I tell the American slave-owner, that he shall not have silence; for, humble as I am, and feeble as my voice may be, yet deafening the sound of the westerly wave, and riding against the blast as thunder goes, it shall reach America, telling the black man that the time for his emancipation has come, and the oppressor that the period of his injustice is soon to terminate! (Cheers.) — *Speech delivered at the Great Anti-Colonization Meeting in London, 1833.*

Mr. O’Connell presented himself to the meeting, amid the most enthusiastic cheers. After some remarks of a general nature, the Hon. and learned gentleman proceeded to speak in terms of severe censure of the conduct of the Americans, in continuing to keep in bondage the black population in many of their States. He did not wonder at the death-plagues of New Orleans, or the devastation of its people, many of whom enjoyed health and vigor at morn, and were lifeless at noon, when they had committed or countenanced crimes which could only be registered with the annals of Nicholas and the curses of Poland.

The Hon. and learned gentleman read several extracts from an American slaveholding Act, in which it was enjoined that no judge, legislative member, barrister or preacher, should speak or write any thing against slavery, under the pain of being sentenced to not less than three years, and not more than twenty-one years’ imprisonment, or death, at the discretion of the court!!! And that no American should teach a slave to read or write, under pain of not less than three months, and not more than twelve months’ imprisonment. (Hear, hear.) The Hon. and learned gentleman flung this

black dishonor on the star-spangled banner of America—in vain did it wave over every sea, proclaiming the honor of the boasted republic of modern times—those who fought under it were felons to the human race, (hear, hear,) traitors to liberty, to their own honor, and blasphemers of the Almighty. “The red arm of God,” continued the Hon. and learned gentleman, “is bared; and let the enemies of those whom his Son died to save, the black man as well as the white man, beware of its vengeance! The lightning careers through the troubled air resistless, amidst the howling of the tempest and rolling of the thunder. Oh, for one moment of poetic inspiration, that my words, with the fire of indignation with which my bosom burns, may be borne on the western breeze across the wide Atlantic, light on their shores, reverberate among their mountains, and be wafted down the rivers of America!” — *Speech delivered at an Anti-Slavery Meeting in London, 1835.*

He had given the Americans some severe but merited reproofs; for which they had paid him wages in abuse and scurrility. He was satisfied that they had done so. He was accustomed to receive such wages in return for his labors. He had never done good but he was villified for his pains; and he felt that he could not sleep soundly were such opponents to cease abusing him. (Cheers.) He would continue to earn such wages. (Cheers.) By the blessing of God, he would yet trample on the serpent of slave-owning cupidity, and triumph over the hiss of the foul reptile, which marked its agony, and excited his contempt. The Americans, in their conduct towards their slaves, were traitors to the cause of human liberty, and foul detractors of the democratic principle, which he had cherished throughout his political life, and blasphemers of that great and sacred name which they pretended to reverence. In reprobation of their disgraceful conduct, his public voice had been heard across the wide Atlantic. Like the thunder-storm in its strength, it had careered against the breeze, armed with the lightning of Christian truth. (Great cheering.) And, let them seek to repress it as they may; let them murder and assassinate in the true spirit of lynch law; the storm would wax louder and louder around them, till the claims of justice became too strong to be with-

stood, and the black man would stand up, too big for his chains. It seemed, indeed—he hoped what he was about to say was not profanation—as if the curse of the Almighty had already overtaken them. For the first time in their political history, disgraceful tumult and anarchy had been witnessed in their cities. Blood had been shed without the sanction of law, and even Sir Robert Peel had been enabled—but he was here in danger of becoming political. (Cries of No, no—Go on, and cheers.) Well, then, even Sir Robert Peel had been enabled to taunt the Americans with gross inconsistency and lawless proceedings. He differed from Sir Robert Peel on many points. (Laughter.) Every body knew that. (Renewed laughter.) It was no doubt presumption in him to differ from so great a man, but yet such was the fact. (Laughter.) On one point, however, he fully agreed with him. Let the proud Americans learn, that all parties in this country unite in condemnation of their conduct; and let them also learn that the worst of all aristocracies is that which prevails in America—an aristocracy which had been aptly denominated that of the human skin. The most insufferable pride was that shown by such an aristocracy. And yet he must confess that he could not understand such pride. He could understand the pride of noble descent. He could understand why a man should plume himself on the success of his ancestors in plundering the people some centuries ago. He could understand the pride arising from immense landed possessions. He could even understand the pride of wealth, the fruit of honest and careful industry. Yet when he thought of the color of the skin making men aristocratic, he felt his astonishment to vie with his contempt. Many a white skin covered a black heart; yet an aristocrat of the skin was the proudest of the proud. Republicans were proverbially proud, and therefore he delighted to taunt the Americans with the superlative meanness, as well as injustice, of their assumed airs of superiority over their black fellow-citizens. (Cheers.) He would continue to hurl his taunts across the Atlantic. And, oh!—but perhaps it was his pride that dictated the hope—that some black O'Connell might rise among his fellow slaves, (tremendous cheers,) who would cry, Agitate, agitate, (renewed cheering,) till the two millions and a half of his fellow-sufferers learned the secret of their

strength — learned that they were two millions and a half. (Enthusiastic cheers.) If there was one thing which more than another could excite his hatred, it was the laws which the Americans had framed to prevent the instruction of their slaves. To be seen in company with a negro who could write, was visited with imprisonment, (shame!) and to teach a slave the principles of freedom was punished with death. Were these human laws, it might be asked? Were they not laws made by wolves of the forest? — No — they were made by a congregation of two-legged wolves — American wolves — monsters in human shape, who boast of their liberty and of their humanity, while they carry the hearts of tigers within them. (Cheers.) — *Speech delivered at the Presentation of the Emancipation Society's Address to Mr. O'Connell, 1835.*

I hate slavery in all countries — the slavery of the Poles in Russia under their miscreant tyrant, and the slavery of the unfortunate men of color under their fellow-men, the boasted friends of liberty in the United States. Let the slave leap up for joy when he hears of the meeting of this day (cheers); let him have the prospect of freedom to cheer him in the decline of life. (Cheers.) We ought to make our exertions strongly, immediately, and unanimously. (Cheers.) Remember what is taking place elsewhere. Only cast your eyes across the Atlantic, and see what is taking place on the American shores. (Cheers.) Behold those pretended sons of freedom — those who declared that every man was equal in the presence of his God — that every man had an inalienable right to liberty — behold them making, in the name of honor, their paltry honor, an organized resistance in Southern Slave States against the advocates of emancipation. Behold them aiding in the robbery committed on an independent State. See how they have seized upon the territory of Texas, taking it from Mexico, Mexico having totally abolished slavery without apprenticeship, (loud cheers,) in order to make it a new market for slavery. (Shame!) Remember how they have stolen, cheated, swindled, robbed that country, for the audacious and horrible purpose of perpetuating negro slavery. (Cries of "Shame!") Remember that there is now a treaty on foot, in contemplation at least, between the Texians and the President of the United States, and that it is only postponed till this robbery

of Texas from Mexico can be completed. Oh! raise the voice of humanity against these horrible crimes! (Cheers.) There is about republicans a sentiment of pride—a feeling of self-exaltation. Let us tell these republicans, that instead of their being the highest in the scale of humanity, they are the basest of the base, the vilest of the vile. (Tremendous cheers.) My friends, there is a community of sentiment all over the world, borne on the wings of the press; and what the humble individual who is now addressing you may state, will be carried across the waves of the Atlantic; it will go up the Missouri—it will be wafted along the banks of the Mississippi—it will reach infernal Texas itself. (Immense cheering.) And though that pandemonium may scream at the sound, they shall suffer from the lash of human indignation applied to their horrible crime. (Cheers.) If they are not arrested in their career of guilt, four new States in America will be filled with slaves. Oh, hideous breeders of human beings for slavery! Such are the horrors of that system in the American States, that it is impossible, in this presence, to describe them; the mind is almost polluted by thinking of them. Should the measures now contemplated by the Americans be accomplished, these horrors will be increased fourfold; and men, with the human soul degraded, will be in a worse state even than the physical degradation of human bodies. (Cheers.) What have we to look to? Their honor—their generosity! We must expect nothing from their generosity. (Cheers.) Sir, I cannot restrain myself. It was only the other day, I read a letter in *The Morning Chronicle*, from their Philadelphia correspondent. A person, whose Indian name I forget, (a voice, “Osceola,”) but who was called Powell, had carried on a war at the head of the Seminoles, and other Florida tribes, against the people of Florida. He behaved nobly, and bravely fought for his country; and he would have been deified as a hero had he fought in a civilized nation, and testimonials would have been reared to commemorate his deeds, as great and numerous as those which have been raised to a Napoleon or a Wellington. But what happens to this warrior? Why, these Americans, having made a truce with him, invited him to a conference. He comes under the protection of that truce. Thus confiding in their honor, is he allowed to return? Oh no! He is not

allowed to return, but is taken prisoner, and carried captive to the fort. (Shame, shame!) Oh, cry out shame, and let that cry be heard across the waves of the mighty ocean! (Cheers.) We are the teachers of humanity, we are the friends of humanity. What does it signify to us, that the crime is not committed on British soil? Wherever it is committed, we are its enemies. (Cheers.) The American, it is true, boasts of having been the first to abolish the slave trade carried on in foreign vessels. Why, he was. But what was the consequence? Every one of his own slaves at home was made of more value to him. It was a swindling humanity. It was worse than our twenty millions scheme. It had the guise of humanity, but had really the spirit of avarice and oppression. (Cheers.) I, perhaps, ought to apologize for detaining you (No, no! Go on!); but we are all children of the same Creator, heirs to the same promise, purchased by the blood of the same Redeemer, and what signifies of what caste, color or creed we may be? (Cheers.) It is our duty to proclaim that the cause of the negro is our cause, and that we will insist upon doing away, to the best of our human ability, the stain of slavery, not only from every portion of this mighty empire, but from the face of the whole earth. (Cheers.) If there be in the huts of Africa, or amidst the swamps of Texas, a human being panting for liberty, let it be proclaimed to him that he has friends and supporters among the great British nation. (Cheers.) — *Speech delivered at a Public Meeting of Anti-Slavery Delegates in London, 1837.*

It is utterly impossible that any thing should exist more horrible than the American slave-breeding. The history of it is this: The Americans abolished the foreign slave trade earlier than England, but with this consolation — no small comfort to so money-loving a race as the slaveholders — that by such abolition, they enhanced the price of the slaves then in America, by stopping the competition in the home market of newly imported slaves. Why, otherwise, was not the home trade stopped as well as the foreign? The reply is obvious.

To supply the home slave trade, an abominable, a most hideous, most criminal, and most revolting practice of breeding negroes exclusively for sale, has sprung up, and especially, we are told, in Virginia. There are breeding plantations for

producing negroes, as there are with us breeding farms for producing calves and lambs. And as our calf and lamb breeders calculate the number of males of the flock to the females, similar calculations are made by the traffickers in human flesh. One instance was mentioned to me of a human breeding farm in America, which was supplied with two men and twelve women. Why should I pollute my page with a description of all that is immoral and infamous in such practice? But only think of the wretched mothers, whom nature compels to love their children — children torn from them for ever, just at the period that they could requite their mother's love! The wretched, wretched mother! Who can depict the mother's distraction and madness? "But their maternal feelings are," says a modern writer, "treated with as much contemptuous indifference, as those of the cows and ewes whose calves and lambs are sent to the English market."

That it is which stains the character of the American slaveholder, and leaves the breeder of slaves the most detestable of human beings; especially when that slaveholder is a republican, boasting of freedom, shouting for liberty, and declaring, as the charter of his liberal institutions, these are self-evident truths, "that all men are created equal — that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights — that among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

My sole object in my speech at Birmingham, and present object, is to rouse the attention of England and of Europe to all that is cruel, criminal, and, in every sense of the word, infamous, in the system of negro slavery in North America. My deliberate conviction is, that until that system is abolished, no American slaveholder ought to be received on a footing of equality by any of the civilized inhabitants of Europe. — *Letter of Mr. O'Connell to the Editor of the London Morning Chronicle*, 1838.

I have no superfluous tears to shed for Ireland, and shall show my love of my country by continuing my exertions to obtain for her justice and good government; but I feel that I have something Irish at my heart, which makes me sympathize with all those who are suffering under oppression, and forces me to give to universal man the benefit of the exer-

tions which are the consequence. (Cheers.) And what adds peculiarly to the claim of Ireland for sympathy and support is, that in the great cause of suffering humanity, no voice was ever raised, but Ireland was found ready to afford relief and succor. — *Speech delivered at a Meeting of the British India Society, London, 1839.*

He then came to North America, and there, thank God, he found much reason for congratulation. There were now present forty representatives of American Abolition Societies to aid them in the great struggle for human liberty. Let them be honored, in proportion as the slaveholders were execrated. Oh! they had a hard battle to fight! In place of being honored as they were in this land, they had to encounter coolness and outrage; the bowie-knife and lynch law threatened them; they were Abolitionists at the risk of their lives. (Cheers.) Glory to them! A year or two since, he made some observations upon the conduct of the American Minister; he charged him with breeding slaves for sale; he denied it; and, in order to prove who was right, he sent him [Mr. O'Connell] a challenge to fight a duel. (Laughter.) He did not accept it. Nothing would ever induce him to commit murder. God had forbidden it, and he would obey him. (Cheers.) The American Minister denied the charge, but he admitted that he had slaves, and he admitted that he did afterwards sell some; so let him have the benefit of such a denial. (A laugh.) He added, however, that he did not believe that slaves were bred for sale in Virginia. Now, he would read some few extracts from Judge Jay's book, published in New York, in 1839. He would call Mr. Stevenson's attention to page 88 of that book, and that would prove to him, not only that slave-breeding existed in Virginia, but within twenty-five miles of his own residence. [The Honorable Gentleman read several extracts, proving the practice; also several advertisements of lots of slaves wanted for ready money, for shipment to New Orleans, and dated in Richmond, the very place of Mr. Stevenson's residence.] He had established against the Ambassador, that slave-raising did exist in Virginia. Yet all these things took place in a civilized country — a civilized age — advertisements of human flesh for sale, and written in even a more contemptuous manner than if the subjects of

them were cattle. The traffic in slaves from the North to the Southern States was immense. In the latter, they were put to the culture of sugar—a horrible culture, that swept off the whole in seven years—every seven years there was a new generation wanted. This was in a community calling themselves civilized. Why, they were worse than the savage beasts of the desert, for they only mangled when driven to it by hunger; but this horrible practice is carried on by well-fed Americans for paltry pecuniary profit—for that low and base consideration, they destroy annually their tens and twenty thousands.

These scenes took place in a country, which, in all other respects, had a fair claim to be called civilized—in a country which had nobly worked out its own freedom—in a country where the men were brave and the women beautiful. Amongst the descendants of Englishmen—even amongst such was to be found a horrible population, whose thirst for gold could only be gratified at the expense of such scenes of human suffering; a population who were insensible to the wrath of God, who were insensible to the cries and screams of mothers and children, torn from each other for ever. But there was one thing they would not be insensible to—they dare not, they would not be insensible to the contempt of Europe. (Loud cheers.) While they embraced the American Abolitionists as friends and brothers, let none of the slave-owners, dealers in human flesh, dare to set a foot upon our free soil. (Cheering.) Let them call upon the Government to protest to America, that they would not receive any slaveholding ambassador. (Loud cheering.) Let them declare that no slave-owner can be admitted into European society; and then Calhoun and Clay, and men like them, who stand up putting forth their claims to be President of the great Republic, must yield to the public, universal opinion. He had made mention of those two men—he would only say that Calhoun was branded with the blood issuing from the stripes of the slave, and Clay drowned in the tears of the mothers and the children. (Cheers.) Let the people of Europe say to slave-owners, “Murderers, you belong not to us! Away to the desert, and herd with kindred savages!” (Cheers.) He begged pardon of the savage. (Laughter.) Sometimes in anger he committed heinous crimes, but he was incapable of

coolly calculating how long or how hard he could work a human being with a profit, — sometimes granting him a boon for the purpose of obtaining a year or two more of labor out of him. Well, are we to remain passive as hitherto? (Loud cries of “No, no!”) Let our declaration also go abroad. Let this Society adopt it — let the benevolence and good sense of Englishmen make that declaration. If an American addresses you, find out at once if he be a slaveholder. (Hear, hear.) He may have business with you, and the less you do with him, the better (a laugh) — but the moment that is over, turn from him as if he had the cholera or the plague (cheers) — for there is a moral cholera and a political plague upon him. (Cheers.) He belongs not to your country or your clime — he is not within the pale of civilization or Christianity. (Cheers.) Let us rally for the liberty of the human race (applause) — no matter in what country or in what clime he is found, the slave is entitled to our protection; no matter of what caste, of what creed, of what color, he is your fellow-man — he is suffering injustice; and British generosity, which has done so much already, ought to be cheered to the task by the recollection of the success it has already attained. (Cheers.) * * * I am zealous in the cause, to be sure, but inefficient — acknowledging the humility of the individual, I am still swelled by the greatness of the cause. My bosom expands, and I glory in the domestic struggle for freedom which gave me a title to stand among you, and to use that title in the best way I can, to proclaim humanity to man, and the abolition of slavery all over the world. — *Speech delivered at the Anniversary of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1840.*

From this spot, I wish to rouse all the high and lofty pride of the American mind. Republicanism necessarily gives a higher and prouder tone to the human mind than any other form of government. I am not comparing it with any thing else at present; but all history shows there is a pride about republicanism, which, perhaps, is a consolation to the republican for any privations he may suffer, and a compensation for many things in which he may possibly be inferior; but from this spot, I repeat, I wish to rouse all the honesty and pride of American youth and manhood; and would that the voice

of civilized Europe would aid me in the appeal, and swell my feeble voice to one shout of honest indignation; and when these Americans point to their boasted Declaration of Independence, exclaim, "Look at your practice!" Can there be faith in man, or reliance placed in human beings, who thus contrast their action with their declarations? * * * That was the first phrase of their boasted Declaration of Independence. What was the last?—"To these principles we solemnly pledge our lives," (invoking the name of the great God, and calling for his aid,) "we solemnly pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor." It has the solemnity without the profaneness of an oath; it speaks in the presence of the living God; it pledges life, fortune, and sacred honor to the principles they assert. How can they lay claim to "sacred honor," with this dark, emphatic, and diabolical violation of their principles staring them in the face? No! America must know that all Europe is looking at her, and that her Senate, in declaring that there is property in human beings, has violated her oath to God, and "sacred honor" to men. Will the American come down upon me, then, with his republicanism? I will meet him with the taunt, that he has mingled perjury with personal disgrace and dishonor, and inflicted both with a double barb into the character of any man who claims property in any human being. France, and even England, might possibly adopt such a resolution without violating their national honor, because they have made no such declarations as America, and therefore she is doubly dyed in disgrace by the course she has taken, in open opposition to her own charter of Independence. * * * I rejoice to hear the present agitation is striking terror into the hearts of the slave-mongers, whose selfish interests, vile passions, and predominant pride, with all that is bad and unworthy commingled, make them willing to retain their hold of human property, and to work with the bones and blood of their fellow-creatures; whilst a species of democratic aristocracy, the filthiest aristocracy that ever entered into civilized society, is set up in the several States—an aristocracy that wishes to have property without the trouble and toil of earning it, and to set themselves above men, only to plunder them of their natural rights, and to live solely upon their labor. Thus, the gratification of every bad passion, and every base emotion of the human

mind, is enlisted in defence of the slaveholder's right. When we turn our eyes upon America, we see in her Declaration of Independence the display of the democratic elements of popular feeling against every thing like tyranny or oppression. But when I come to the District of Columbia, there I see in the capital and temple of freedom, the negro chained to his toil, and writhing beneath the lash of his taskmaster, and the negress doomed to all the horrors of slavery. There I see their infant, yet unable to understand what it is that tortures its father, or distracts its mother; while that mother is cursing its existence, because it is not a man, but a slave; and almost wishing—oh! what a wringing thought to a mother's heart—that the child might sink into an early grave, rather than become the property of an excruciating tyrant, and the instrument of wealth to others, without being able to procure comfort and happiness for itself. That is America; that is the land of the free; these are the illustrations of the glorious principles laid down in the Declaration of American Independence! These evils, inflicted as they are by the democratic aristocracy of the States, are worse than ever were inflicted by the most kingly aristocracy, or the most despotic tyranny. I do not mean any thing offensive to our American friends present, but I do say, there is written in letters of blood upon the American escutcheon, robbery and murder, and plunder of human beings. I recognize no American as a fellow-man, except those who belong to anti-slavery societies. Those who uphold slavery are not men as we are, they are not honest as we are; and I look upon a slaveholder as upon a pickpocket, who violates the common laws of property and honesty.

They say that, by their Constitution, they are prevented from emancipating the slaves in the slaveholding States; but I look in the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of 1787, and I defy them to find a single word about slavery, or any provision for holding property in man.

No man can deny the personal courage of the American people. With the recollection of the battles of Bunker's Hill and Saratoga,—of which, indeed, I might be reminded by the portrait which hangs opposite to me, of one of the officers who took an active part in those conflicts, (the Earl of Moira,)—with the recollection, I say, of those battles, it would be disgraceful and dishonest to deny to the American people per-

sonal courage and bravery. There exists not a braver people upon the face of the earth. But, amongst all those who composed the Convention of 1787, there was not one man who had the moral courage—I was about to say the immoral courage—to insert the word slavery in the Constitution. No! they did not dare pronounce the word; and if they did not dare to use the word slavery, are they to be allowed to adopt the thing? Is America to shake her star-spangled banner in the breeze, and boast of liberty, while she is conscious that that banner floats over the heads of slaves? Oh, but they call it “persons held to labor”—that is the phrase they use in their Constitution; but dare any one say that slavery is implied in those words? The term applies to any person who enters into a contract to labor, for a given period, as by the month or year, or for an equivalent; but his doing so does not constitute him a slave, surely; the very term is disgraceful to nature, and an affront to nature’s God. No wonder the word was not in their Declaration; you would not look to find words of injustice and cruelty in a declaration of honesty and humanity. I repeat it, they have not used the word. They meant slavery: they intended to have slaves, but they dared not employ the word; and “persons held to labor” was as near as they dared approach to it. Can you conceive of a deeper crime than slavery? A crime which includes in it injustice and cruelty, which multiplies robberies and murders! Ay, there is one thing worse even than this, and that is hypocrisy added to it. Let hypocrisy be superinduced on injustice, and you have, indeed, a character fit to mingle with the murky powers of darkness; and the Americans (I speak not of them all, there are many noble exceptions) have added hypocrisy to their other accomplishments. They say they have no power to emancipate their slaves: is that the real reason? It may be, that they have not power to do so in some particular States; but then, what shall be said of the District of Columbia? There they are not bound by any restriction; yet in that District there are slaves, and there they furnish further proof of their hypocrisy. Oh, say they, we are the finest gentlemen, the wisest statesmen, the most profound legislators in the world. We are ardent lovers of liberty, we detest slavery, and we lament that we have not the power to make all free. Then I whisper, Colum-

bia! Columbia! You have the power there, you have the authority there, to remove this foul blot; you have the means and opportunities; you have, in short, every thing but the will: the will alone is wanting; and, with all your professions, you are hypocrites.

But I will now turn to a subject of congratulation: I mean the Anti-Slavery Societies of America — those noble-hearted men and women, who, through difficulties and dangers, have proved how hearty they are in the cause of abolition. I hail them all as my friends, and wish them to regard me as a brother. I wish for no higher station in the world; but I do covet the honor of being a brother with these American Abolitionists. In this country, the Abolitionists are in perfect safety: here we have fame and honor; we are lauded and encouraged by the good; we are smiled upon and cheered by the fair; we are bound together by godlike truth and charity; and though we have our differences as to points of faith, we have no differences as to this point, and we proceed in our useful career esteemed and honored. But it is not so with our anti-slavery friends in America: there they are villified, there they are insulted. Why, did not very lately a body of men — of gentlemen, so called — of persons who would be angry if you denied them that cognomen, and would even be ready to call you out to share a rifle and a ball — did not such “gentlemen” break in upon an Anti-Slavery Society in America; aye, upon a ladies’ Anti-Slavery Society, and assault them in a most cowardly manner? And did they not denounce the members of that Society? And where did this happen? Why, in Boston — in enlightened Boston, the capital of a non-slaveholding State. In this country, the Abolitionists have nothing to complain of; but in America, they are met with the bowie-knife and lynch law! Yes! in America, you have had martyrs; your cause has been stained with blood; the voice of your brethren’s blood crieth from the ground, and riseth high, not, I trust, for vengeance, but for mercy, upon those who have thus treated them. But you ought not to be discouraged, or relax in your efforts. Here you have honor. A human being cannot be placed in a more glorious position than to take up such a cause under such circumstances. I am delighted to be one of a Convention in which are so many of such great and good men. I trust that

their reception will be such as that their zeal may be greatly strengthened to continue their noble struggle. I have reason to hope that, in this assembly, a voice will be raised which will roll back in thunder to America, which will mingle with her mighty waves, and which will cause one universal shout of liberty to be heard throughout the world. Oh, there is not a delegate from the Anti-Slavery Societies of America, but ought to have his name, aye, her name, written in characters of immortality! The Anti-Slavery Societies in America are deeply persecuted, and are deserving of every encouragement which we can possibly give them. I would that I had the eloquence to depict their character aright; but my tongue falters, and my powers fail, while I attempt to describe them. They are the true friends of humanity, and would that I had a tongue to describe aright the mighty majesty of their undertaking! I love and honor America and the Americans. I respect their great principles; their untiring industry; their lofty genius; their social institutions; their morals, such morals as can exist with slavery — God knows they cannot be many — but I respect all in them or about them that is good. But, at the same time, I denounce and anathematize them as slaveholders, and hold them up to the scorn of all civilized Europe. I would that the government of this country would tell the United States of America, that they must send no more slaveholding negotiators here!

I will tell you a little anecdote. Last year, I was accosted with great civility by a well-dressed, gentleman-like person, in the lobby of the House of Commons. He stated that he was from America, and was anxious to be admitted to the House. "From what State do you come?" "From Alabama." "A slaveholder, perhaps?" "Yes." "Then," said I, "I beg to be excused;" and so I bowed and left him. Now, that is an example which I wish to be followed. Have no intercourse with a slaveholder. You may, perhaps, deal with him as a man of business, but, even then, you must act with caution, as you would with a pickpocket and a robber. You ought to be very scant of courtesy towards him, at least until he has cleared himself of the foul imputation. Let us beware of too much familiarity with such men; and let us plainly and honestly tell them, as a Convention, what we think of them. I am not for the employment of force; no — let

all be done by the statement of indisputable facts; by the diffusion of information; by the union of benevolent minds; by our bold determination to expose tyranny and cruelty; by proclaiming to the slaveholders that, so long as they have any connection with the accursed traffic in human beings, we hold them to be a different race. Why should it not be so? Why should we not shrink from them, as we would with shuddering from the approach of the vilest reptiles? The declaration of such views and feelings from such a body of men as are now before me, will make the slaveholders tremble. My voice is feeble; but I have no doubt that what I say will reach them, and that it will have some influence upon them. They must feel that they cannot much longer hold the sway. One of the great objects of my hope is to affright the Americans by laying hold upon their pride, their vanity, their self-esteem, by commending what is excellent in them, and by showing how very far they come short in those proprieties upon which they boast themselves. I would have this Convention avail themselves of all such aids, and to urge them by every possible argument to abandon the horrid vice by which their character is so foully disfigured. * * * We have proof this day that there are those who love the cause of freedom in every part of the globe. And why should it not be so? Why should not all unite in such a glorious cause? We are all formed by the same Creator; we are alike the objects of the same watchful Providence; we are all the purchase of the same redeeming blood; we have one common Savior; and our hearts beat high with the same immortal hopes. And why should any portion of the human race be shut out from our affection and regard? * * * O, let our word go forth from this place, that we do not deem the Americans Christians, by whatever name they are called, whether Episcopalians, or Baptists, or Independents, or Methodists, or whatever other name, — that we regard them not as Christians at all, unless they cordially unite with us in this great work. We honor all that is really good in America, and would have it all on our side in this glorious struggle — in this holy cause. Let us unite and be severe, and, by the blessing of God, and the aid of good freedom will, ere long, wave her triumphant banner over emancipated America, and we shall unite with the world to rejoice in the result. — *Speech at the World's Convention, held in Freemason's Hall, London.*

-At a special meeting of the Loyal National Repeal Association, held in the Great Room, Corn Exchange, Dublin, May 9, 1843, — JAMES HAUGHTON, Esq., in the chair, —

Mr. O'Connell said — The Association had adjourned to that day for the purpose of receiving a communication with which they had been honored from the Anti-Slavery Society of America — a body of men whom they most entirely respect — whose objects should be cherished in their hearts' core — whose dangers enhanced their virtues — and whose persevering patriotism would either write their names on the pages of temporal history, or impress them in a higher place, where eternal glory and happiness would be the reward of their exertions. (Cheers.) His impressions were so strong in favor of the Anti-Slavery Society of America, that he thought it would not be so respectful as he would desire, if he brought forward that document in the routine of business on the last day, when it could not be so much attended to as it deserved. (Hear, hear.) It was out of respect to the people who sent that document, that they had adjourned; and he might say, that personal respect for the Chairman was mixed up with that consideration. (Cheers.) They could not have sent a better message, or a more sincere one; and, if he now had the kindness to make the communication, they would receive it with the respect it deserved. (Cheers.)

The Anti-Slavery Address having been read, —

Mr. O'Connell then said: — I rise with the greatest alacrity to move that that most interesting document be inserted on the minutes, and that the fervent thanks of the Repeal Association of Ireland be by acclamation voted to the writers of it. I never in my life heard any thing read that imposed more upon my feelings, and excited a deeper sympathy and sorrow within me. I never, in fact, before knew the horrors of slavery in their genuine colors. It is a production framed in the purest effort of simplicity, but, at the same time, powerful in its sentiments, so at once to reach the human heart, and stir up the human feelings to sorrow and execration, — sorrow for the victims, and execration for the tyrants. (Loud cries of hear, hear, and cheers.) It will have its effect throughout Ireland; for the Irish people did not know what

was, alas! familiar to you, Sir, and to me,—the real state of slavery in America, and of the unequalled evils it inflicts; for slavery, wherever it exists, is the bitterest potion that can be commended to the lips of man. Let it be presented in any shape, and it must disgust, for a curse inherent to it grows with it, and inflicts oppression and cruelty wherever it descends. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) We proclaim it an evil; and though, as a member of this Association, I am not bound to take up any national quarrel, still, I do not hesitate to declare my opinions; I never paltered in my own sentiments. (Cheers.) I never said a word in mitigation of slavery in my life; and I would consider myself the most criminal of human beings if I had done so. (Hear, and cheers.)

Yes, I will say, shame upon every man in America, who is not an anti-slavery man; shame and disgrace upon him! I don't care for the consequences. I will not restrain my honest indignation of feeling. I pronounce every man a faithless miscreant, who does not take a part for the abolition of slavery. (Tremendous cheering for several minutes.) It may be said that offence will be taken at these words. Come what may from them, they are my words. (Renewed applause.) The question never came regularly before us until now. We had it introduced collaterally; we had it mentioned by persons who were friends of ours, and who were endeavoring to maintain good relations between us and the slaveholders, but it is only now that it comes directly before us. We might have shrunk from the question by referring the document to a committee; but, I would consider such a course unworthy of me, enjoying as I do the confidence of the virtuous, the religious, and the humane people of Ireland; for I would be unfit to be what I desire to consider myself, the representative of the virtues of the people, if I were not ready to make every sacrifice for them, rather than to give the least sanction to human slavery.

They say that the slaves are worse treated, since the cry of the Abolitionists has been raised in their favor, as it has made their masters more suspicious of them, and more severe against them; but has that any weight with me? How often was I told, during our agitation, that "the Catholics would be emancipated but for the violence of that O'Connell"! (Laughter.) Why, one of the cleverest men in the country wrote a

pamphlet in 1827, in which he stated that the Protestants of Ireland would have emancipated their Catholic countrymen long before, but for me, and fellows of my kind; and yet, two years after, I got emancipation in spite of them. (Cheers.) But it is clearly an insult to the understanding to speak so. When did tyranny relax its gripe merely because it ought to do so? (Hear.) As long as there was no agitation, the masters enjoyed the persecution of their slaves in quietness; but the moment the agitation commenced, they cried out, "Oh, it is not the slaves we are flogging, but we are flogging through his back the anti-slavery men." (Laughter.) But the subject is too serious for ridicule. I am afraid they will never give up slavery until some horrible calamity befalls their country; and I here warn them against the event, for it is utterly impossible that slavery can continue much longer. (Hear, hear.) But, good Heaven! can Irishmen be found to justify, or rather to palliate, (for no one could dare attempt to justify,) a system which shuts out the book of human knowledge, and seeks to reduce to the condition of a slave, 2,500,000 human beings;—which closes against them not only the light of human science, but the rays of divine revelation, and the doctrines which the Son of God came upon the earth to plant! The man who will do so belongs not to my kind. (Hear, hear.) Over the broad Atlantic I pour forth my voice, saying, "Come out of such a land, you Irishmen; or, if you remain, and dare countenance the system of slavery that is supported there, we will recognize you as Irishmen no longer." (Hear, hear, and cheers.) * *

I say the man is not a Christian,—he cannot believe in the binding law of the Decalogue. He may go to the chapel or the church, and he may turn up the whites of his eyes, but he cannot kneel as a Christian before his Creator, or he would not dare to palliate such an infamous system. No, America! the black spot of slavery rests upon your star-spangled banner; and no matter what glory you may acquire beneath it, the hideous, damning stain of slavery rests upon you, and a just Providence will sooner or later avenge itself for your crime. (Loud and continued cheers.) Sir, I have spoken the sentiments of the Repeal Association. (Renewed cheers.) There is not a man amongst the hundreds of thousands that belong to our body, or amongst the millions that

will belong to it, who does not concur in what I have stated. We may not get money from America after this declaration; but even if we should not, we do not want blood-stained money. (Hear, hear.) If they make it the condition of our sympathy, or if there be implied any submission to the doctrine of slavery on our part, in receiving their remittance, let them cease sending it at once. But there are wise and good men every where, and there are wise and good men in America, — and that document which you have read, Sir, is a proof, among others, that there are; and I would wish to cultivate the friendship of such men; but the criminals and the abettors, — those who commit, and those who countenance the crime of slavery, — I regard as the enemies of Ireland, and I desire to have no sympathy or support from them. (Cheers.)

I have the honor to move that this document be inserted in full upon our minutes, and that the most grateful thanks of the Repeal Association be given to the Anti-Slavery Society of America who sent it to us, and, in particular, to the two office-bearers, whose names are signed to it.

At a meeting of the Loyal National Repeal Association, in Dublin, August 8, 1843, Mr. O'Connell, in the course of a powerful Anti-Slavery speech, said —

A disposition was evinced in America to conciliate the opinion of that Association in favor of the horrid system of slavery, but they refused, of course, to show any sanction to it. (Hear, and cheers.)

He had taken an active part in the Anti-Slavery Society from the moment that he was competent to discover any one body of men acting for the extinction of slavery all over the world; and he stood in that Association as the representative of the Irish people, who had themselves suffered centuries of persecution, because they were attached to humanity, and to what justice and reason demanded; for if they had chosen to be silent, and had bowed to authority — if they had acquiesced in the dictation of their masters and tyrants, they would have escaped many temporary sufferings, but they would not have acquired the glory of having adhered with religious fidelity to their principles. Standing as their representative,

he could not act otherwise than he had done, though the liberty of Ireland, the repeal of the Union itself, were to abide the result. He was bound not to look to consequences, but to justice and humanity; and come what would, he did not hesitate to throw heart and soul into his opposition to the system that would treat human beings as brute beasts of the field. He spoke distinctly and emphatically, for as he wanted to make an impression, he used harsher words than he would have done, if he did not know that harsh words were necessary to rouse the selfish temperament of the domineering master of slaves. And he did make that sensation, and he was glad of it.

At a meeting of the Loyal National Repeal Association, held in Conciliation Hall, Dublin, Sept. 29th, 1845, Mr. O'Connell, speaking on the subject of American slavery, said —

I have been assailed for attacking the American institution, as it is called, negro slavery. I am not ashamed of that attack — I do not shrink from it. I am the advocate of civil and religious liberty all over the globe, and wherever tyranny exists, I am the foe of the tyrant; wherever oppression shows itself, I am the foe of the oppressor; wherever slavery rears its head, I am the enemy of the system, or the institution, call it by what name you will. (Great cheering.) I am the friend of liberty in every clime, class, and color: — my sympathy with distress is not confined within the narrow bounds of my own green island — no, it extends itself to every corner of the earth — my heart walks abroad, and wherever the miserable is to be succored, and the slave is to be set free, there my spirit is at home, and I delight to dwell in its abode. (Enthusiastic cheering.) It has been asked, What business has O'Connell to interfere with American slavery? Why, do not the Americans show us their sympathy for our struggles, and why should we not show a sympathy in efforts for liberty amongst themselves? (Cheers.) But I confess I have another strong reason for desiring to abolish slavery in America. In no monarchy on the face of the earth is there such a thing as domestic slavery. It is true, in some colonies belonging to monarchies, slavery exists; but in no European

country is there slavery at all — for the Russian serf is far different from the slave of America, and therefore I do not wish that any lover of liberty should be able to draw a contrast between the democratic republic of America and the despotic States of Europe. (Hear, hear.) I am in favor of the democratic spirit, and I wish to relieve it from the horrors of slavery. (Cheers.) I do not wish to visit America with force and violence — I would be the last man in the world to consent to it. I would not be for making war to free the negro — at least, not for the war of knife, and lash, and sword; but I would be for the moral warfare — I would be for the arms of argument and humanity to procure the extinction of tyranny, and to hurl contempt and indignation on those who call themselves freemen, and yet keep others in slavery. I would bring elements of that kind to bear upon the system, until the very name of slavery should be regarded with horror in the republic of America. (Cheers.) * * *

In the year '25, when I left my profession and went over to England, there was an anti-slavery meeting, at which I was present and spoke; and afterwards, when I went to Parliament, another meeting was appointed, greater in magnitude. The West India interest was 27 strong in the House of Commons — the Algerine bill was carried through the House by a majority of 19 — therefore, the emancipation bill was in the power of the West India interest; but when they sent a respected friend of mine — the Knight of Kerry — to me, to ask why I did not take a certain course with regard to it, what was my answer? "I represent the Irish people here, and I will act as the Irish people will sanction. Come liberty, come slavery to myself, I will never countenance slavery, at home or abroad!" (Cheers.) I said I came here on principle; the Irish people sent me here to carry out their principles; their principles are abhorrent of slavery; and, therefore, I will take my part at that anti-slavery meeting; and though it should be a blow against Ireland, it is a blow in favor of human liberty, and I will strike that blow. (Cheers.) So far was I from cultivating the slavery interest, that I adopted that course, though I regretted to lose their votes. But I must do them the credit to say, that I did not lose them. They acted nobly, and said they would not revenge upon Ireland my attack upon them. (Cheers.) * * * *

Let them blame me—in America let me be execrated by them—let their support be taken from Ireland—Slavery, I denounce you wherever you are! (Loud cheers.) Come freedom, come oppression to Ireland—let Ireland be as she may—I will have my conscience clear before my God. (Continued cheers.) * * * *

They were told that the speech he made in that room would put an end to the remittances from America, and that the Americans would not again contribute to the funds of the Association. If they should never get one shilling from America, his course was plain, his path was obvious. He was attached to liberty; he was the uncompromising hater of slavery wherever it was to be found. (Cheers.)

Have I traduced the Americans, when I talked of the horrors of domestic slavery? I happened to receive a New Orleans paper, published in the centre of domestic slavery—it is called the *Jeffersonian Republic*, and I shall read an extract from it. By that I perceive that, in connection with the institution of slavery in New Orleans—for I find that, in America, they call it an institution—there are public whipping places—men are licensed to keep shambles of torture, (Hear, hear,)—the master sends his slave to those shambles, there to get one hundred lashes, and the man gets the hundred lashes, or whatever degree of punishment his master desires. (Hear, hear.) There are actually shambles kept there for the torture of slaves, and there are persons who earn a livelihood—what a hideous livelihood!—by flogging human beings at the instance of those who are called their masters. (Hear, hear.) Am I to blame if I attack a system of that kind? (Hear, hear.) Male or female—young or old—whipped at the discretion of a man whose only limit is not actually killing the individual! (Hear, hear.) They would thus make the slave declare whether he is guilty of a theft or not. Are they, I ask, Christian men who endure to see these scenes going on around them? (Hear, hear.) Recollect that this is not the statement of a calumniator, or a libeller, or foreign emissary, but it is the statement published in the darkest hole of slavery, New Orleans itself. (Hear, hear.)—*Speech before the Dublin Repeal Association, September, 1844.*

TESTIMONY OF JOHN O'CONNELL, ESQ.

Extract from a speech delivered by John O'Connell, M. P., at a meeting of the Loyal National Repeal Association, held in Dublin, Nov. 23d, 1840:—

He had to perform a duty which he had imposed upon himself, and a duty in which he was sure he would have their concurrence that he ought to discharge, to bring before the Association the atrocities practised upon the miserable slaves in the United States of America. He was of opinion they would think he ought to discharge it, because it was right that, when putting forward their claims to become a nation, they should be able to put forth a claim upon this ground also, that they had shown their sympathy for the slaves.

[Here Mr. O'Connell read to the meeting several cases of slaveholding barbarity in America.]

He thought, when he produced such details of atrocity as these, he would be acquitted of the charge of bringing forward a subject which was not well worthy the attention of the Association. Nothing could be more shameful—nothing more unjust—nothing more cruel—nothing more atrocious and demoralizing—than the treatment of the black slaves in America, while the people boasted of their adhesion to universal liberty. But, not only did they suffer such enormities to be perpetrated against slaves, but against free people also. In the Northern States, where slavery did not exist, the free people of color were subject to the greatest indignities. In the railway trains, there were separate places for them; in the churches, they were not permitted to sit in the same pews; nay, in the grave-yards, (for they carried their dislike and contempt for the negro even there, where one would suppose all distinctions should cease,) there were separate places for the interment of negroes. (Hear.) And yet the country which did this called itself free. He alluded to this matter at present, because the American journals which arrived that day had brought intelligence that the Irish in America, and

their descendants, were joining in the rally for repeal, and that meetings had been held, at which subscriptions were collected to aid the objects of that Association. (Cries of "hear, hear," and cheers.) Every testimony of sympathy in their struggles was grateful to their feelings; and it was delightful to know that, among the new associations which Irishmen formed in other lands, they and their descendants were not forgetful of the older associations they had left at home. (Hear, hear.) But while they hold out to us the hand of brotherhood, we tell them that they come from a suspected land, — a land that holds man in bondage; and if they have any connection with, or if they approve of that bondage, then we reject their proffer: we have neither kindred nor sympathy for them, if they participate in the most degrading, demoralizing, wicked, and atrocious system which ever was maintained by man. (Hear, hear.) Talk of freedom, indeed! they spurned their association, if they had any thing to do with this system, — nay, if they were passive observers of the atrocity; for, if it was incumbent upon this nation to express their abhorrence at what they did not themselves witness, it was doubly incumbent upon those who were witnesses of it to oppose the system, and to take part with the Abolitionists. If they did not take part against the system, they were equally culpable with those who upheld it. (Hear, hear.) Therefore, if they wish us to receive their aid and sympathy, let them join with the Abolitionists; if not, we shall reject and refuse all connection with them. (Hear, hear.) It has been attempted to mix up Catholicity with the system, and the name of a distinguished individual in the Southern States had been alluded to. But he would not now speak of him more than to express a hope that the allegation was untrue; but there was no one who knew what Catholicity was, that did not know, not only that its tenets did not allow of slavery, but proclaimed that it was criminal in those who had any participation in the system. (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.)

Reply of John O'Connell, M. P., to a letter from James Haughton, Esq.: —

30, MERRION SQUARE, 27th Jan., 1842.

MY DEAR SIR, — I beg to assure you, and the other gentlemen of the Committee, that there is no abatement of zeal on

the part of the Repeal Association in the blessed cause of negro freedom. You would have easily seen this, had you been at our meeting of Monday week, when my father alluded, in strong terms, to slavery in America, and met the warmest approbation of the assembly. The most effectual means, too, of spreading abroad the knowledge and the detestation of that hideous system have been taken, by the collection together, by order of the Association, of all the extracts I read at former meetings on the subject of negro slavery, with a view to publish them in the form of a report, and to distribute them with our reports. I have prepared a short introduction to be prefixed to these extracts, and I think you will find it to speak the Association's sentiments as to slavery, in terms not to be mistaken. * * *

I trust we now stand acquitted of the charge, that our "cry for liberty is a mere selfish affair." We do not and did not deserve this charge. Our warmest exertions are ready to be given, and, whenever the occasion offers, are given, freely and heartily, to every movement in favor of the liberty and happiness of any and all the branches of the universal family of man. If we have been more before the public in our particular character as Repealers of the legislative union between England and Ireland, it is because our first duty is to our native land; but, we have never refused nor neglected an opportunity of raising our voices in support and vindication of the rights of others; and one of the strongest incitements that we have to labor for the restoration of our country's legislative independence is, that hers will then be the potential voice of a nation, and no longer the unheeded cry of a mendicant province, upraised in the cause of liberty and of Christianity.

I remain, my dear sir, ever faithfully yours,

JOHN O'CONNELL.

JAMES HAUGHTON, Esq.

A D D R E S S

FROM THE MEMBERS OF THE CUFFE-LANE TEMPERANCE SOCIETY
TO THEIR BRETHREN IN AMERICA.

DUBLIN, February, 1847.

TO IRISHMEN IN AMERICA :

COUNTRYMEN : — From recent information that we have received on the subject of slavery, as it exists in the country of your adoption, our hearts have been warmed afresh with zeal on behalf of freedom, and our sympathies re-kindled in favor of the American slave, who is deprived of all his rights, and subjected to the irresponsible will of his master.

Countrymen! our hearts burn with indignation at the thoughts of this injustice to our fellow-creatures, who are children of the same God as we are, and destined to a similar glorious end.

We have heard, fellow-countrymen, with feelings of deep sorrow, that many of you are indifferent to the wrongs of the slave, and that some are to be found even in the ranks of those who chain, and whip, and lacerate him; and who, without pity or remorse, forcibly separate husbands and wives, parents and children, selling them at the auction-table to the highest bidder!

By all your memories of Irishmen, by all your love of Fatherland, we entreat you not to disgrace the land of your birth, by aiding the tyrant in the land of your adoption to rivet the chains on his victim!

What right have you to enslave the colored man? Did not God create him in His own image, as well as you? If you are authorized to keep him in bondage, show us your license from the Lord of earth and heaven!

God has placed an instinct within your bosoms, which tells you that "man is created free and equal, and that all are alike entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Countrymen! we appeal to you, in the name of the Declaration of Independence, which guarantees to every inhabitant of the United States of America the priceless boon of lib-

erty, but which instrument has been basely trampled under foot, in relation to three millions of the people of that republic.

On the fourth day of July, every year, you and every citizen of America celebrate your freedom from political servitude. Perform this act of hypocrisy no more, until the colored man can unite in the joyful hymn of thanksgiving.

In a word, countrymen, we call upon you to be true to the principles of Liberty and Justice. Pursue a contrary course, and you will disgrace your country, and impede her advancement on the road of freedom.

We need your sympathy, as you need ours, for the promotion of the principles of Truth and Justice at home and abroad; and neither of us can help the other, if we are false to God's light in our own hearts.

We remain, Countrymen and Friends,

Faithfully yours,

JOHN SPRATT, D. D., *President of the Society,*
Chapel House, Angier St., Dublin.

JAMES HAUGHTON — *and 881 others.*

ADDRESS FROM THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND,

TO THEIR COUNTRYMEN AND COUNTRYWOMEN IN AMERICA !

DEAR FRIENDS:— You are at a great distance from your native land! A wide expanse of water separates you from the beloved country of your birth—from us and from the kindred whom you love, and who love you, and pray for your happiness and prosperity in the land of your adoption.

We regard America with feelings of admiration: we do not look upon her as a strange land, nor upon her people as aliens from our affections. The power of steam has brought us nearer together; it will increase the intercourse between us, so that the character of the Irish people and of the American people must in future be acted upon by the feelings and dispositions of each.

The object of this address is to call your attention to the subject of slavery in America — that foul blot upon the noble institution and the fair fame of your adopted country. But for this one stain, America would indeed be a land worthy your adoption; but she will never be the glorious country that her free constitution designed her to be, so long as her soil is polluted by the foot-prints of a single slave.

Slavery is the most tremendous invasion of the natural, inalienable rights of man, and of some of the noblest gifts of God, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." What a spectacle does America present to the people of the earth! A land of professing Christian republicans, uniting their energies for the oppression and degradation of three millions of innocent human beings, the children of one common Father, who suffer the most grievous wrongs and the utmost degradation, for no crime of their ancestors or their own! Slavery is a sin against God and man. All who are not for it must be against it. None can be neutral. We entreat you to take the part of justice, religion, and liberty.

It is in vain that American citizens attempt to conceal their own and their country's degradation under this withering curse. America is cursed by slavery! WE CALL UPON YOU TO UNITE WITH THE ABOLITIONISTS, and never to cease your efforts until perfect liberty be granted to every one of her inhabitants, the black man as well as the white man. We are all children of the same gracious God; all equally entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

We are told that you possess great power, both moral and political, in America. We entreat you to exercise that power and that influence for the sake of humanity.

You will not witness the horrors of slavery in all the States of America. Thirteen of them are free, and thirteen are slave States. But in all, the pro-slavery feeling, though rapidly decreasing, is still strong. Do not unite with it: on the contrary, oppose it by all the peaceful means in your power. JOIN WITH THE ABOLITIONISTS EVERY WHERE. They are the only consistent advocates of liberty. Tell every man that you do not understand liberty for the white man, and slavery for the black man: that you are for liberty for all, of every color, creed, and country.

The American citizen proudly points to the National

Declaration of Independence, which declares that all mankind are born free and equal, and are alike entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Aid him to carry out this noble declaration, by obtaining freedom for the slave.

Irishmen and Irishwomen! treat the colored people as your equals, as brethren. By all your memories of Ireland, continue to love liberty—hate slavery—CLING BY THE ABOLITIONISTS—and in America you will do honor to the name of Ireland.

[Signed by] DANIEL O'CONNELL,
THEOBALD MATHEW,

And *sixty thousand* other inhabitants of Ireland.

A large and overwhelming meeting of citizens of Boston was held in Faneuil Hall, on the evening of Friday, January 28, 1842, at which this Address was read, and received by the immense assemblage with cheers and loud acclamations of applause. A large number of the Irish inhabitants of Boston and vicinity were present, who responded to the sentiments of the Address, and to those which were uttered by the various speakers, in the most enthusiastic manner.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq. offered the following resolutions, which he very eloquently advocated, and which were adopted by acclamation:—

Resolved, That the voice of O'CONNELL, which now shakes the three kingdoms, has poured across the waters a thunder-peal for the cause of Liberty in our own land; and that FATHER MATHEW, having lifted, with one hand, five millions of his own countrymen into moral life, has stretched forth the other—which may Heaven make equally potent!—to smite off the fetters of the American slave.

Resolved, That we receive, with the deepest gratitude, the names of the sixty thousand Irishmen, who, in the trial-hour of their own struggle for liberty, have not forgotten the slave on this side of the water; that we accept with triumphant exultation the Address they have forwarded to us, and pledge ourselves to circulate it through the length and breadth of our land, till the pulse of every man, and especially every man who claims Irish parentage, beats true to the claims of patriotism and humanity.

Among those who eloquently addressed the meeting was JAMES CANNINGS FULLER, a highly esteemed Quaker, of New York, who said—My heart is too full of emotion to permit me to speak. I am an old countryman myself, and the hope of meeting you here to-night has brought me several hundred

miles. (Cheers.) Irishmen! I stood in our Irish House of Peers when Castlereagh took the bribe for the betrayal of Ireland, (groans, and cries of "Yes, and went home and cut his throat!") and I know what feelings and sufferings bring an Irishman to America. What did you come from the other side for? OPPRESSION drove you here, and you came for universal liberty. (Great cheering.) I must be a radical reformer here, as I was in the old country. My Irish friends know what that means. (Cheers, and cries of "Yes, yes!") Hard-handed laborers! see to it that not one of you bows down to this deadly influence of slavery. You will labor for the Anti-Slavery cause. (An Irish hand was stretched up to his from the dense crowd. Shaking it warmly, Mr. Fuller said)—I knew you would! (Deafening cheers.)

LETTER FROM JAMES HAUGHTON, ESQ.

TO IRISHMEN IN AMERICA:

COUNTRYMEN:—My heart often prompts me to address you in a few words of kindly remonstrance. I wish you so to conduct yourselves in the distant land you have made your home, as that your conduct may reflect honor on the loved country you have left behind you, and cause you to be really respected by the people among whom you now dwell. These advantages can be secured only by a steady adherence, on your part, to the principles of truth and honor, which you should make the guiding star of your life.

You love liberty for yourselves. Be consistent in your advocacy of this universal right of the human race; and claim it as the inalienable privilege of all men,—of the colored man, as well as the white man.

I fear too many of you have forgotten your duty, in this respect, and that thus the fame of Ireland—which we should shield from the breath of dishonor—is sullied in the eyes of those who should only see reflected in your conduct, evidence of the firm determination of your countrymen to stand fast by the noble principles of Christian rectitude.

In the twelfth century, the synod of Armagh proclaimed

liberty to every captive in Ireland, and since then, a slave has never polluted our green isle.

Remember the faithfulness of O'Connell. Let his memory, which is embalmed in many of our hearts, and his whole life, which was a consistent course in favor of civil and religious liberty, be a beacon-light guiding you in your career. Demand, as he did, that freedom for all which you claim as your own birthright.

Thus, and thus alone, can you secure true respect for yourselves, and cause the stranger to say of your country, "If I were not an American, I should be proud to be an Irishman."

By all your pleasant memories of Ireland; by her glorious mountains and her beautiful valleys; by her verdant plains, which are watered by the streams in which you loved to disport yourselves in childhood; by your love of these things; by your affection for your kindred and friends, and by your reverence for Almighty God,—I appeal to you, and I ask you to love your fellow-men of all complexions and of all creeds, and to demand for them all, the exact measure of justice you claim for yourselves.

The sad moan of four millions of slaves comes across the broad ocean, and it sounds painfully in our ears. I ask you to aid in turning their sorrow into joy—to aid in enabling the fathers and mothers of the colored race in America to clasp their little ones, and feel all the happiness and all the responsibility of being their guardians and their guides, from infancy up to manhood. Turn not a deaf ear to the cry of the slave, but let him feel, in future and for evermore, that in every Irishman he has a friend.

Whatever may be your rank or condition in the land of your adoption, believe me, countrymen, you can only acquire and maintain an honorable reputation there, by such a course of conduct as I recommend; and whatever may be your practice, whether in consonance with, or in opposition to these sentiments, I feel assured that you will say in your hearts, "He is right." I entreat you to act manfully in accordance with your convictions, and I beg to subscribe myself,

Faithfully yours,

JAMES HAUGHTON.

DUBLIN, 35 Eccles Street.

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

SENTIMENTS OF DANIEL O'CONNELL.

A great Anti-Colonization Meeting was held at Exeter Hall, London, July 13, 1833, at which DANIEL O'CONNELL was one of the speakers. In the course of his speech, he said :

When reflecting on the subject, I formerly had some consolation. I thought there were humane men in America, employed in mitigating these evils, and establishing the principles of universal emancipation. I heard of the Colony of Liberia; I read puffs of it in the newspapers; I saw, day after day, declarations of its importance towards liberating the slave. (Hear, hear.) I was waited upon by grave personages, who appeared to detest slavery as much as I did. They told me of the principles of the American Colonization Society — that it aimed at the destruction of slavery — and I took them at their word, and was glad to have another corps in the cause of humanity. I had not then read the real history, nor the real character of the Society; but you, Mr. Chairman, have enlightened me, and I thank you for it. I find one passage that answers my purpose, and I will refer you to the work from which I make the quotation. It will be found in the third volume of the African Repository, page 107, and is in these words: “*It is no Abolition Society; it addresses, as yet, arguments to no master.*” What harm would it do to argue with the master? (Cheers.) What an admirable Society is this, that will not, for fear of offending the gentility of the master, tell him that he ought not to have a slave! It is too polite for that. (A laugh.) And this is the Society that has the insolence to come before the British public, and represent itself as an instrument of humanity! (Hear, hear.) Words, it is said, break no bones; and what mischief could they do to these fellows by arguing with them? They might, to be sure, by shewing them that they were neither honest men nor Christians, make them sleep the worse until their consciences became case-hardened. (Cheers.) “*And disavows with horror the idea of offering temptations to any slave*” — temptations to be free! to have a right to go with

his wife and family where he pleases! to have a right to remain together, and to work for themselves, and not for any body else! (Cheers.) O! the poor Negro, who toils from rising sun to sun-down; who labors in the cultivation of a crop, the profits of which he shall never reap; who comes home weary, and faint, and distressed, and heart-sick, to find in his little hut creatures that are to run in the same career as himself — will they not tell him of the arrival of a period when his toil shall be at an end? Will they not tell him of the love of Him who sustained creation's curse, that he might soften their pillow on their journey to the skies? (Cheers.) O! no, not a word! "*Offering temptations to any slave!*" They will yet have temptations enough! "*It denies the design of attempting emancipation, either partial or general.*" This is the Society we are called upon to support! We are told that men who can endure slavery, cannot endure freedom. The West Indians tell us that the moment the negroes get their freedom, that moment they will rebel. They do not rebel while they are tortured by the whip, but the instant you attempt to mitigate their sufferings, they will evince a disposition to rebellion. (Hear, hear.) The West Indians say, they will not have sudden emancipation; but this Society is worse — for, "*It denies the design of attempting emancipation, either partial or general.*"

Now, am I right in asking you to disclaim the agent of the American Colonization Society? In this country, the aristocracy and the oligarchy have got up an admirable scheme for transporting the peasants of England. They do not like to have them standing between "the wind and their nobility" — (a laugh) — and accordingly, you have the emigration scheme. The press has been teeming, for the last eight or ten years, with publications containing the most beautiful descriptions of Canada — just as if no man can enjoy health who is not six months out of the twelve in the snow, and as if going into the woods and wilds of a desert is better than inhabiting the great towns of England! (Laughter and cheers.) You read of parishes every day transporting Englishmen for the crime of being poor; and the American Colonization Society is taking up the same principle. "We have done injustice," it says, "to the black man — we are doing injustice to him — shall we now do him justice? O, no; we will transport him to Africa!" That is just the scheme they have got up. (Cheers.)

The American Colonization Society has been branded with many names already. There is, however, one which it has not yet received, but which it richly deserves. I knew a gentleman, of an imaginative mind, who went out to Sierra Leone; and on his return, he told a friend of mine that a cargo of bars of iron, which had been sent to that Colony, was found, after it had lain in a store two months, to be completely *worm-eaten*. (Laughter.) "Why," said my friend, "what kind of worms eat iron?" "Oh," said he, "they were as like bugs as any worms you can see." My friend, who had a little Irish drollery about him, remarked, "We have bugs of that kind in Ireland, but we call them *humbugs*." (Loud cheers.) Now, the American Colonization Society is a bug of that description — it is a humbug. (Renewed and long-continued cheers.) It will eat iron like any thing; it will digest it like an ostrich; there is nothing too hard for the stomach of the American Colonization Society. (Cheers.) *It is the most ludicrous Society that ever yet was dreamed of.* Am I to be told that my talented and reverend friend, (the Rev. Mr. Paul,) who stood where I stand, and became the advocate of the rights of his own race — the man who would draw the veil of humanity over the crimes of others — is to be persecuted on account of his sable hue? It reminds me of an anecdote respecting the celebrated Burckhardt, who, in the course of his travels, penetrated into the depths of Abyssinia. In the heart of that country he went to market, where he met a young woman — of course, perfectly black — who had a basket of eggs for sale. The moment she saw the white man, she exclaimed, "How ugly! The devil! the devil!" (A laugh.) She dropped her basket, broke her eggs, and ran away at the sight of a white man. There is no reason for removing the negro from America but his color; and I wish the American Colonization Society may meet with a few black girls, who will exclaim regarding it (and which they may do with more propriety) as the black girl did with respect to Burckhardt — "*The devil! the devil!*" (Cheers.)

I told you that there was, in my native music, a mixture of melancholy and of joy — that when sorrow saddens our minds, there is a revulsion in favor of nobler sentiments — and I trust that revulsion is seldom or never mixed with

any other feelings than those which soothe that sorrow, and advance that principle, which would extinguish it for ever.

By my humble advocacy here, I come before the British public to tell them of a wretched delusion — of a scheme which, instead of emancipating the slave, would transport him from that which has become his native clime to a distant colony, without the party having been guilty of any crime. I come to proclaim the absurdity of giving credit to men who are not for emancipation, either partial or general. I come to stop the ever open hand of charity, which, when appealed to in this country, pours out the horn of plenty in aid of the wretched and distressed, no matter what their clime may be. I wish not to have it deluded or mistaken : I wish to have it directed to a proper object — the object of obtaining liberty for every one of the human race. As we have now arrived at a period when the Genthoo in India is about to have a government that shall cease to be terrific ; as we have arrived at a period when the first effort in civilization is making for hundreds of millions of the inhabitants of that country who are entrusted to our care ; I trust our exertions, on behalf of the black man in the East Indies, will be like the stream that flows from one of my own native mountains, which, though insignificant and trivial at the commencement, as it descends the mountain unites with other springs, until in the valley it spreads itself abroad, diffusing beauty and fertility to every approaching object. [Cheers.] The words I throw out here may be instrumental in forming a Society in this country, which shall see that the East, as well as the West Indies, have justice done them ; and as future ages will trumpet forth the glory of the Anti-Slavery Society in this country, so another Anti-Slavery Society, springing up as another mighty oak of the same stock, may shed its branches over the American States, and work for the black man there, as we have worked for him in the West Indies. As we, by an act of justice, are striking off the fetters from 800,000 of our fellow-creatures ; so, in the name of justice, I stand before you as arraigning America for her crime in perpetuating slavery, and as arraigning, above all, the American Colonization Society, as ludicrous and absurd, and as diverting from their legitimate course those streams of benevolence which flow around us in such munificent splendor. [Long-continued cheering.]

SLAVERY NOT A DEBATABLE QUESTION.

An American gentleman waited upon me this morning, and I asked him, with some anxiety, "What part of America do you come from?" "I came from Boston." "Do me the honor to shake hands. You came from a State that has never been tarnished with slavery—a State to which our ancestors fled from the tyranny of England, and the worst of all tyrannies, the odious attempt to interfere between a man and his God; a tyranny that I have in principle helped to put down in this country, and wish to put down in every country upon the face of the globe. (Cheers.) It is odious and insolent to interfere between a man and his God; to fetter with law the choice which the conscience makes of its mode of adoring the eternal and adorable God. I cannot talk of toleration, because it supposes that a boon has been given to a human being, in allowing him to have his conscience free. (Cheers.) It was in that struggle," I said, "that your fathers left England, and I rejoice to see an American from Boston; but I should be sorry to be contaminated by the touch of a man from those States where slavery is continued." (Cheers.) "Oh," said he, "you are alluding to slavery: though I am no advocate for it, yet, if you will allow me, I will discuss that question with you." I replied, that if a man should propose to me a discussion on the propriety of picking pockets, I would turn him out of my study, for fear he should carry his theory into practice. (Laughter and cheers.) "And, meaning you no sort of offence," I added, "which I cannot mean to a gentleman who does me the honor to pay me a civil visit, I would as soon discuss the one question with you as the other." The one is a paltry theft:

"He who steals my purse, steals trash; 'tis something, nothing;
'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands"—

but he who thinks he can vindicate the possession of one human being by another—the sale of soul and body—the separation of father and mother—the taking of the mother from the infant at her breast, and selling the one to one master and the other to another—is a man whom I will not answer with words—nor yet with blows, for the time for the latter has not yet come. (Cheers.)—DANIEL O'CONNELL.

TRIBUTE TO THE MEMORY OF O'CONNELL.

[From the Annual Report of the Massachusetts A. S. Society, 1847.]

The last year has been marked in the annals of Ireland, and of the world, by the death of the great O'Connell. This is no place to recount his history or to pronounce his eulogy. It is for others to tell his labors in behalf of the great movements for the Relief of his Religion, for the Reform of Parliament, and for the Repeal of the Union. But to his earnestness in the cause of West Indian Emancipation, his readiness to denounce the Colonization imposture when exposed to him by Mr. Garrison, his indignant contempt of slaveholders and their apologists, and his consistent hatred of Slavery and readiness to coöperate with the Abolitionists, we may be permitted to pay the tribute of our admiration and gratitude. He died at Genoa, on the 15th of May, 1847, in the 72d year of his age, while upon a pilgrimage to the metropolis of his ancient Faith, of which he was ever a zealous votary and a duteous son. But his frame was too much shattered by his toils and sufferings to permit him to reach the Head of his Church. Few men have left behind them a more famous name, or one that excites more opposite emotions in the hearers' minds. No one of his times was better hated and better loved than he. No man's character was submitted to such opposite constructions. But when the evil and the good that he has left behind him shall be pondered in the impartial balance of posterity, we believe that his services in the cause of civil and religious liberty, his recognition of moral power and the renunciation of violence and bloodshed of his later years, will be found to outweigh his errors, and that he will be recognized as among the foremost of the friends of mankind.

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THE
PHILOSOPHY

OF THE
ABOLITION MOVEMENT.

BY
WENDELL PHILLIPS.

NEW YORK:

PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

1860.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS,

AT THE

MELODEON, BOSTON, JAN. 27, 1853.

MR. CHAIRMAN,—I have to present, from the Business Committee, the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the object of this Society is now, as it has always been, to convince our countrymen, by arguments addressed to their hearts and consciences, that slaveholding is a heinous crime, and that the duty, safety and interest of all concerned, demand its immediate abolition, without expatriation.

I wish, Mr. Chairman, to notice some objections that have been made to our course, ever since Mr. Garrison began his career, and which have been lately urged again, with considerable force and emphasis, in the columns of the *London Leader*, the able organ of a very respectable and influential class in England. I hope, Sir, you will not think it waste of time to bring such a subject before you. I know these objections have been made a thousand times; that they have been often answered; though we have generally submitted to them in silence, willing to let results speak for us. But there are times when justice to the slave will not allow us to be silent. There are many in this country, many in England, who have had their attention turned, recently, to the Anti-Slavery cause. They are asking, "Which is the best and most efficient method of helping it?" Engaged ourselves in an effort for the slave, which time has tested and success

hitherto approved, we are, very properly, desirous that they should join us in our labors, and pour into this channel the full tide of their new zeal and great resources. Thoroughly convinced ourselves that our course is wise, we can honestly urge others to adopt it. Long experience gives us a right to advise. The fact that our course, more than all other efforts, has caused that agitation which has awakened these new converts, gives us a right to counsel them. They are our spiritual children: for their sakes, we would free the cause we love and trust from every seeming defect and plausible objection. For the slave's sake, we reiterate our explanations, that he may lose no tittle of help by the mistakes or misconceptions of his friends.

All that I have to say on these points will be to you, Mr. Chairman, very trite and familiar; but the facts may be new to some, and I prefer to state them here, in Boston, where we have lived and worked, because, if our statements are incorrect, if we claim too much, our assertions can be easily answered and disproved.

The charges to which I refer are these: That in dealing with slaveholders and their apologists, we indulge in fierce denunciations, instead of appealing to their reason and common sense by plain statements and fair argument; — that we might have won the sympathies and support of the nation, if we would have submitted to argue this question with a manly patience; but instead of this, we have outraged the feelings of the community by attacks, unjust and unnecessarily severe, on its most valued institutions, and gratified our spleen by indiscriminate abuse of leading men, who were often honest in their intentions, however mistaken in their views; — that we have utterly neglected the ample means that lay around us to convert the nation, submitted to no discipline, formed no plan, been guided by no foresight, but hurried on in childish, reckless, blind and hot-headed zeal — bigots in the narrowness of our views, and fanatics in our blind fury of invective and malignant judgment of other men's motives.

There are some who come upon our platform, and give us the aid of names and reputations less burdened than ours with popular odium, who are perpetually urging us to exercise charity in our judgments of those about us, and to consent to argue these questions. These men are ever parading

their wish to draw a line between themselves and us, because *they must be permitted* to wait—to trust more to reason than feeling—to indulge a generous charity—to rely on the sure influence of simple truth, uttered in love, &c. &c. I reject with scorn all these implications that *our* judgments are uncharitable,—that *we* are lacking in patience,—that *we* have any other dependence than on the simple truth, spoken with Christian frankness yet with Christian love. These lectures, to which you, Sir, and all of us, have so often listened, would be impertinent, if they were not rather ridiculous for the gross ignorance they betray of the community, of the cause, and of the whole course of its friends.

The article in the *Leader* to which I refer is signed “Ion,” and may be found in the *Liberator* of December 17, 1852. The writer is cordial and generous in his recognition of Mr. Garrison’s claim to be the representative of the Anti-Slavery movement, and does entire justice to his motives and character. The criticisms of “Ion” were reprinted in the *Christian Register*, of this city, the organ of the Unitarian denomination. The editors of that paper, with their usual Christian courtesy, love of truth, and fair-dealing, omitted all “Ion’s” expressions of regard for Mr. Garrison and appreciation of his motives, and reprinted only those parts of the article which undervalue his sagacity and influence, and endorse the common objections to his method and views. You will see in a moment, Mr. President, that it is with such men and presses, “Ion” thinks Mr. Garrison has not been sufficiently wise and patient, in trying to win their help for the Anti-Slavery cause. Perhaps, were he on the spot, it would tire even his patience and puzzle even his sagacity to make any other use of them than that of the drunken Helot—a warning to others how disgusting mean vice is. Perhaps, were he here, he would see that the best and only use to be made of them is to let them unfold their own characters, and then show the world how rotten our Politics and Religion are, that they naturally bear such fruit. “Ion” quotes Mr. Garrison’s original declaration, in the *Liberator*:—

“I am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse—I will not retreat a single inch—AND I WILL BE HEARD.

"It is *pretended* that I am retarding the cause of emancipation by the coarseness of my invective and the precipitancy of my measures. *The charge is not true.* On this question, my influence, humble as it is, is felt at this moment to a considerable extent, and shall be felt in coming years—not perniciously, but beneficially—not as a curse, but as a blessing; and posterity will bear testimony that I was right. I desire to thank God that he enables me to disregard 'the fear of man which bringeth a snare,' and to speak his truth in its simplicity and power."

He then goes on to say:—

"This is a defence which has been generally accepted on this side of the Atlantic, and many are the Abolitionists among us whom it has encouraged in honesty and impotence, and whom it has converted into conscientious hindrances. * * *

"We would have Mr. Garrison to say, 'I will be as harsh as *progress*, as uncompromising as *success*.' If a man speaks for his own gratification, he may be as 'harsh' as he pleases; but if he speaks for the down-trodden and oppressed, he must be content to put a curb upon the tongue of holiest passion, and speak only as harshly as is compatible with the amelioration of the evil he proposes to redress. Let the question be again repeated: Do you seek for the slave vengeance or redress? If you seek retaliation, go on denouncing. But distant Europe honors WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON because it credits him with seeking for the slave simply redress. We say, therefore, that 'uncompromising' policy is not to be measured by absolute justice, but by practical amelioration of the slave's condition. Amelioration as fast as you can get it—absolute justice as soon as you can reach it."

He quotes the sentiment of Confucius, that he would choose for a leader "a man who would maintain a steady vigilance in the direction of affairs, who was capable of forming plans, and of executing them," and says:—

"The philosopher was right in placing wisdom and executive capacity above courage; for down to this day, our popular movements are led by heroes who *fear* nothing, and who *win* nothing. * * *

"There is no question raised in these articles as to the work to be done, but only as to the mode of *really* doing it. The platform resounds with announcements of principle, which is but *asserting* a right, while nothing but contempt is showered on policy, which is the *realization* of right. The air is filled with all high cries and spirited denunciations; indignation is at a premium; and this is called advocacy. * * * But to calculate, to make sure of your aim, is to be decried as one who is too cold to feel, too genteel to strike."

Further on, he observes:—

"If an artillery officer throws shell after shell which never reach the enemy, he is replaced by some one with a better eye and a surer aim. But in the artillery battle of opinion, to *mean* to hit is quite sufficient; and if you have a certain grand indifference as to whether you hit or not, you may count on public applause. * * *

"A man need be no less militant, as the soldier of facts, than as the agent of swords. But the arena of argument needs discipline, no less than that of arms. It is this which the Anti-Slavery party seem to me not only to overlook, but to despise. They do not put their valor to drill. Neither on the field nor the platform has courage any inherent capacity of taking care of itself."

The writer then proceeds to make a quotation from Mr. Emerson, the latter part of which I will read:—

"Let us withhold every *reproachful*, and, if we can, every *indignant* remark. In this cause, we must renounce our temper, and the risings of pride. If there be any man who thinks the ruin of a race of men a small matter compared with the last decorations and completions of his own comfort—who would not so much as part with his ice-cream to save them from rapine and manacles—I think I must not hesitate to satisfy *that* man, that also his cream and vanilla are safer and cheaper by placing the negro nation on a fair footing than by robbing them. If the Virginian piques himself on the picturesque luxury of his vassalage, on the heavy Ethiopian manners of his house servants, their silent obedience, their hue of bronze, their turbaned heads, and would not exchange them for the more intelligent but precarious hired services of whites, I shall not refuse to show *him* that when their free papers are made out, it will still be their interest to remain on his estates; and that the oldest planters of Jamaica are convinced that it is cheaper to pay wages than to own slaves."

The critic takes exception to Mr. Garrison's approval of the denunciatory language in which Daniel O'Connell rebuked the giant sin of America, and concludes his article with this sentence:—

"When WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON praises the great Celtic Monarch of invective for this dire outpouring, he acts the part of the boy who fancies that the terror is in the war-whoop of the savage, unmindful of the quieter muskets of the civilized infantry, whose unostentatious execution blows whoop and tomahawk to the devil."

Before passing to a consideration of these remarks of "Ion," let me say a word in relation to Mr. Emerson. I do not consider him as endorsing any of these criticisms on the Abolitionists. His services to the most radical Anti-Slavery movement have been generous and marked. He has never shrunk from any odium which lending his name and voice to it would incur. Making fair allowance for his peculiar taste, habits and genius, he has given a generous amount of aid to the Anti-Slavery movement, and never let its friends want his cordial "God-speed."

"Ion's" charges are the old ones, that we Abolitionists are hurting our own cause—that, instead of waiting for the

community to come up to our views, and endeavoring to remove prejudice and enlighten ignorance, by patient explanation and fair argument, we fall at once, like children, to abusing every thing and every body—that we imagine zeal will supply the place of common sense—that we have never shown any sagacity in adapting our means to our ends, have never studied the national character, or attempted to make use of the materials which lay all about us, to influence public opinion, but by blind, childish, obstinate fury and indiscriminate denunciation, have become “honestly impotent, and conscientious hindrances.”

These, Sir, are the charges which have uniformly been brought against all reformers in all ages. “Ion” thinks the same faults are chargeable on the leaders of all the “popular movements” in England, which, he says, “are led by heroes who *fear* nothing and who *win* nothing.” If the leaders of popular movements in Great Britain for the last fifty years have been *losers*, I should be curious to know what party, in “Ion’s” opinion, have won? My Lord Derby and his friends seem to think Democracy has made, and is making, dangerous headway. If the men who, by popular agitation, outside of Parliament, wrung from a powerful oligarchy Parliamentary Reform, and the Abolition of the Test Acts, of High Post Rates, of Catholic Disability, of Negro Slavery and the Corn Laws, did “not win any thing,” it would be hard to say what winning is. If the men who, without the ballot, made Peel their tool and conquered the Duke of Wellington, are considered unsuccessful, pray what kind of a thing would success be? Those who now, at the head of that same middle class, demand the separation of Church and State, and the Extension of the Ballot, may well guess, from the fluttering of Whig and Tory doves, that soon they will “win” that same “nothing.” Heaven grant they may enjoy the same *ill success* with their predecessors! On our side of the ocean, too, we ought deeply to sympathize with the leaders of the Temperance movement in their entire want of success! If “Ion’s” mistakes about the Anti-Slavery cause lay as much on the surface as those I have just noticed, it would be hardly worth while to reply to him; for as to these, he certainly exhibits only “the extent and variety of his mis-information.”

His remarks upon the Anti-Slavery movement are, however, equally inaccurate. I claim, before you who know the true state of the case, I claim for the Anti-Slavery movement with which this Society is identified, that, looking back over its whole course, and considering the men connected with it in the mass, it has been marked by sound judgment, unerring foresight, the most sagacious adaptation of means to ends, the strictest self-discipline, the most thorough research, and an amount of patient and manly argument addressed to the conscience and intellect of the nation, such as no other cause of the kind, in England or this country, has ever offered. I claim, also, that its course has been marked by a cheerful surrender of all individual claims to merit or leadership—the most cordial welcoming of the slightest effort, of every honest attempt to lighten or to break the chain of the slave. I need not waste time by repeating the superfluous confession that we are men, and therefore do not claim to be perfect. Neither would I be understood as denying that we use denunciation, and ridicule, and every other weapon that the human mind knows. We must plead guilty, if there be guilt in not knowing how to separate the sin from the sinner. With all the fondness for abstractions attributed to us, we are not yet capable of that. We are fighting a momentous battle at desperate odds—one against a thousand. Every weapon that ability or ignorance, wit, wealth, prejudice or fashion can command, is pointed against us. The guns are shotted to their lips. The arrows are poisoned. Fighting against such an array, we cannot afford to confine ourselves to any one weapon. The cause is not ours, so that we might, rightfully, postpone or put in peril the victory by moderating our demands, stifling our convictions, or filing down our rebukes, to gratify any sickly taste of our own, or to spare the delicate nerves of our neighbor. Our clients are three millions of Christian slaves, standing dumb suppliants at the threshold of the Christian world. They have no voice but ours to utter their complaints, or to demand justice. The press, the pulpit, the wealth, the literature, the prejudices, the political arrangements, the present self-interest of the country, are all against us. God has given us no weapon but the truth, faithfully uttered, and addressed, with the old prophets directness, to the conscience of

the individual sinner. The elements which control public opinion and mould the masses are against us. We can but pick off here and there a man from the triumphant majority. We have facts for those who think, arguments for those who reason; but he who cannot be reasoned out of his prejudices must be laughed out of them; he who cannot be argued out of his selfishness must be shamed out of it by the mirror of his hateful self held up relentlessly before his eyes. We live in a land where every man makes broad his phylactery, inscribing thereon, "All men are created equal"—"God hath made of one blood all nations of men." It seems to us that in such a land there must be, on this question of Slavery, sluggards to be awakened as well as doubters to be convinced. Many more, we verily believe, of the first, than of the last. There are far more dead hearts to be quickened than confused intellects to be cleared up—more dumb dogs to be made to speak, than doubting consciences to be enlightened. (Loud cheers.) We have use, then, sometimes, for something beside argument.

What is the denunciation with which we are charged? It is endeavoring, in our faltering human speech, to declare the enormity of the sin of making merchandise of men—of separating husband and wife—taking the infant from its mother, and selling the daughter to prostitution—of a professedly Christian nation denying, by statute, the Bible to every sixth man and woman of its population, and making it illegal for "two or three" to meet together, except a white man be present! What is this harsh criticism of motives with which we are charged? It is simply holding the intelligent and deliberate actor responsible for the character and consequences of his acts. Is there any thing inherently wrong in such denunciation or such criticism? This we may claim—we have never judged a man but out of his own mouth. We have seldom, if ever, held him to account, except for acts of which he and his own friends were proud. All that we ask the world and thoughtful men to note are the principles and deeds on which the American pulpit and American public men plume themselves. We always allow our opponents to paint their own pictures. Our humble duty is to stand by and assure the spectators, that what they would take for a

knave or a hypocrite is really, in American estimation, a Doctor of Divinity or Secretary of State.*

The South is one great brothel, where half a million of women are flogged to prostitution, or, worse still, are degraded to believe it honorable. The public squares of half our great cities echo to the wail of families torn asunder at the auction-block—no one of our fair rivers that has not closed

* A paragraph from the *New England Farmer*, of this city, has gone the rounds of the press, and is generally believed. It says:—

"We learn, on reliable authority, that Mr. Webster confessed to a warm political friend, a short time before his death, that the great mistake of his life was the famous seventh of March speech, in which, it will be remembered, he defended the Fugitive Slave Law, and fully committed himself to the Compromise Measures. Before taking his stand on that occasion, he is said to have corresponded with Prof. Stuart and other eminent divines, to ascertain how far the religious sentiment of the North would sustain him in the position he was about to assume."

Some say this "warm political friend" was a clergyman! Consider a moment the language of this statement, the form it takes on every lip and in every press. "The great *mistake* of his life"! Seventy years old, brought up in New England churches, with all the culture of the world at his command, his soul melted by the repeated loss of those dearest to him, a great statesman, with a heart, according to his admirers, yet tender and fresh, one who bent in such agony over the death-bed of his first daughter—he looks back on this speech, which his friends say changed the feelings of ten millions of people, and made it possible to enact and execute the Fugitive Slave Law. He sees that it flooded the hearthstones of thousands of colored men with wretchedness and despair—crazed the mother, and broke the heart of the wife—putting the virtue of woman and the liberty of man in the power of the vilest—and all, as he at least now saw, for nothing. Yet one who, according to his worshippers, was "the grandest growth of our soil and our institutions," looked back on such an act, and said what? With one foot in the grave, said what of it? "I did wrong"? "I committed a foul outrage on my brother man"? "I sported too carelessly with the welfare of the poor"? Was there no moral chord in that heart, "the grandest growth of our soil and our institutions"? No! He said, "I made a mistake!" Not, "I was false in my stewardship of these great talents and this high position!" No! But on the chess-board of the political game, I made a bad move! I threw away my chances! A gambler, I did not understand my cards! And to whom does he offer this acknowledgment? To a clergyman! the representative of the moral sense of the community! What a picture! We laugh at the lack of heart in Talleyrand, when he says, "It is worse than a crime, a blunder." Yet all our New Englander can call this momentous crime of his life is, a *mistake*!

Whether this statement be entirely true or not, we all know it is exactly the tone in which all about us talk of that speech. If the statement be true, what an entire want of right feeling and moral sensibility it shows in Mr. Webster! If it be unfounded, still the welcome it has received, and the ready belief it has gained, show the popular appreciation of him, and of such a crime. Such is the public with whom Abolitionists have to deal.

over the negro seeking in death a refuge from a life too wretched to bear—thousands of fugitives skulk along our highways, afraid to tell their names, and trembling at the sight of a human being—free men are kidnapped in our streets, to be plunged into that hell of slavery, and now and then one, as if by miracle, after long years, returns to make men aghast with his tale. The Press says, "It is all right;" and the Pulpit cries, "Amen." We print the Bible in every tongue in which man utters his prayers; and get the money to do so by agreeing never to give the book, in the language our mothers taught us, to any negro, free or bond, south of Mason and Dixon's line. The Press says, "It is all right;" and the Pulpit cries, "Amen." The slave lifts up his imploring eyes, and sees in every face, but ours, the face of an enemy. Prove to me now that harsh rebuke, indignant denunciation, scathing sarcasm, and pitiless ridicule, are wholly and always unjustifiable; else we dare not, in so desperate a case, throw away any weapon which ever broke up the crust of an ignorant prejudice, roused a slumbering conscience, shamed a proud sinner, or changed, in any way, the conduct of a human being. Our aim is to alter public opinion. Did we live in a market, our talk should be of dollars and cents, and we would seek to prove only that slavery was an unprofitable investment. Were the nation one great, pure Church, we would sit down and reason of "righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come." Had slavery fortified itself in a College, we would load our cannons with cold facts, and wing our arrows with arguments. But we happen to live in the world—the world made up of thought and impulse, of self-conceit and self-interest, of weak men and wicked. To conquer, we must reach all. Our object is not to make every man a Christian or a philosopher, but to induce every one to aid in the abolition of slavery. We expect to accomplish our object long before the nation is made over into saints, or elevated into philosophers. To change public opinion, we use the very tools by which it was formed. That is, all such as an honest man may touch.

All this I am not only ready to allow, but I should be ashamed to think of the slave, or to look into the face of my fellow-man, if it were otherwise. It is the only thing that justifies us to our own consciences, and makes us able to say we have done, or at least tried to do, our duty.

So far, however you distrust my philosophy, you will not doubt my statements. That we have denounced and rebuked with unsparing fidelity will not be denied. Have we not also addressed ourselves to that other duty, of arguing our question thoroughly—of using due discretion and fair sagacity in endeavoring to promote our cause? Yes, we have. Every statement we have made has been doubted. Every principle we have laid down has been denied by overwhelming majorities against us. No one step has ever been gained but by the most laborious research and the most exhausting argument. And no question has ever, since Revolutionary days, been so thoroughly investigated or argued here, as that of Slavery. Of that research and that argument, of the whole of it, the old-fashioned, fanatical, crazy Garrisonian Anti-Slavery movement has been the author. From this band of men has proceeded every important argument or idea that has been broached on the Anti-Slavery question from 1830 to the present time. (Cheers.) I am well aware of the extent of the claim I make. I recognize, as fully as any one can, the ability of the new laborers—the eloquence and genius with which they have recommended this cause to the nation, and flashed conviction home on the conscience of the community. I do not mean, either, to assert that they have in every instance borrowed from our treasury their facts and arguments. Left to themselves, they would probably have looked up the one, and originated the other. As a matter of fact, however, they have generally made use of the materials collected to their hands. But there are some persons about us, sympathizers, to a great extent, with “Ion,” who pretend that the Anti-Slavery movement has been hitherto mere fanaticism, its only weapon angry abuse. They are obliged to assert this, in order to justify their past indifference or hostility. At present, when it suits their purpose to give it some attention, they endeavor to explain the change by alleging that now it has been taken up by men of thoughtful minds, and its claims are urged by fair discussion and able argument. My claim, then, is this: that neither the charity of the most timid of sects, the sagacity of our wisest converts, nor the culture of the ripest scholars, though all have been aided by our twenty years’ experience, has yet struck out any new method of reaching the public mind, or origi-

nated any new argument or train of thought, or discovered any new fact bearing on the question. When once brought fully into the struggle, they have found it necessary to adopt the same means, to rely on the same arguments, to hold up the same men and the same measures to public reprobation, with the same bold rebuke and unsparing invective that we have used. All their conciliatory bearing, their pains-taking moderation, their constant and anxious endeavor to draw a broad line between their camp and ours, have been thrown away. Just so far as they have been effective laborers, they have found, as we have, their hands against every man, and every man's hand against them. The most experienced of them are ready to acknowledge that our plan has been wise, our course efficient, and that our unpopularity is no fault of ours, but flows necessarily and unavoidably from our position. "I should suspect," says old Fuller, "that his preaching had no salt in it, if no galled horse did wince." Our friends find, after all, that men do not so much hate us as the truth we utter and the light we bring. They find that the community are not the honest seekers after truth which they fancied, but selfish politicians and sectarian bigots, who shiver, like Alexander's butler, whenever the sun shines on them. Experience has driven these new laborers back to our method. We have no quarrel with them — would not steal one wreath of their laurels. All we claim is, that if they are to be complimented as prudent, moderate, Christian, sagacious, statesmanlike reformers, we deserve the same praise; for they have done nothing that we, in our measures, did not attempt before. (Cheers.)

I claim this, that the cause, in its recent aspect, has put on nothing but timidity. It has taken to itself no new weapons of recent years; it has become more compromising—that is all! It has become neither more persuasive, more learned, more Christian, more charitable, nor more effective, than for the twenty years preceding. Mr. Hale, the head of the Free Soil movement, after a career in the Senate that would do honor to any man—after a six years' course which entitles him to the respect and confidence of the Anti-Slavery public—can put his name, within the last month, to an appeal from the city of Washington, signed by a Houston and a Cass, for a monument to be raised to HENRY CLAY! If that

be the test of charity and courtesy, we cannot give it to the world. (Loud cheers.) Some of the leaders of the Free Soil party of Massachusetts, after exhausting the whole capacity of our language to paint the treachery of Daniel Webster to the cause of liberty, and the evil they thought he was able and seeking to do,—after that, could feel it in their hearts to parade themselves in the funeral procession got up to do him honor! In this we allow we cannot follow them. The deference which every gentleman owes to the proprieties of social life, that self-respect and regard to consistency which is every man's duty, these, if no deeper feelings, will ever prevent us from giving such proofs of this newly-invented Christian courtesy. (Great cheering.) We do not *play* politics; Anti-Slavery is no half-jest with us; it is a terrible earnest, with life or death, worse than life or death, on the issue. It is no law-suit, where it matters not to the good feeling of opposing counsel which way the verdict goes, and where advocates can shake hands after the decision as pleasantly as before. When we think of such a man as Henry Clay, his long life, his mighty influence cast always into the scale against the slave; of that irresistible fascination with which he moulded every one to his will; when we remember that, his conscience acknowledging the justice of our cause, and his heart open on every other side to the gentlest impulses, he could sacrifice so remorselessly his convictions and the welfare of millions to his low ambition: when we think how the slave trembled at the sound of his voice, and that, from a multitude of breaking hearts, there went up nothing but gratitude to God when it pleased him to call that great sinner from this world,—we cannot find it in our hearts, we could not shape our lips, to ask any man to do him honor. (Great sensation.) No amount of eloquence, no sheen of official position, no loud grief of partisan friends, would ever lead us to ask monuments or walk in fine processions for pirates; and the sectarian zeal or selfish ambition which gives up, deliberately and in full knowledge of the facts, three million of human beings to hopeless ignorance, daily robbery, systematic prostitution, and murder, which the law is neither able nor undertakes to prevent or avenge, is more monstrous, in our eyes, than the love of gold which takes a score of lives with merciful quickness on the high seas. Haynau on the

Danube is no more hateful to us than Haynau on the Potomac. Why give mobs to one, and monuments to the other?

If these things be necessary to courtesy, I cannot claim that we are courteous. We seek only to be honest men, and speak the same of the dead as of the living. If the grave that hides their bodies could swallow also the evil they have done and the example they leave, we might enjoy at least the luxury of forgetting them. But the evil that men do lives after them, and Example acquires ten-fold authority when it speaks from the grave. History, also, is to be written. How shall a feeble minority, without weight or influence in the country, with no jury of millions to appeal to,—denounced, vilified, and contemned,—how shall we make way against the overwhelming weight of some colossal reputation, if we do not turn from the idolatrous Present, and appeal to the Human Race; saying to your idols of to-day, “Here we are defeated; but we will write our judgment with the iron pen of a century to come, and it shall never be forgotten, if we can help it, that you were false in your generation to the claims of the slave!” (Loud cheers.)

At present, our leading men, strong in the support of large majorities, and counting safely on the prejudices of the community, can afford to despise us. They know they can overawe or cajole the Present; their only fear is the judgment of the Future. Strange fear, perhaps, considering how short and local their fame! But however little, it is their all. Our only hold upon them is the thought of that bar of posterity, before which we are all to stand. Thank God! there is the elder brother of the Saxon race across the water—there is the army of honest men to come! Before that jury we summon you. We are weak here—out-talked, out-voted. You load our names with infamy, and shout us down. But our words bide their time. We warn the living that we have terrible memories, and that their sins are never to be forgotten. We will gibbet the name of every apostate so black and high that his children’s children shall blush to bear it. Yet we bear no malice—cherish no resentment. We thank God that the love of fame, “that last infirmity of noble mind,” is shared by the ignoble. In our necessity, we seize this weapon in the slave’s behalf, and teach caution to the living by meting out relentless justice to the dead. How

strange the change death produces in the way a man is talked about here ! While leading men live, they avoid as much as possible all mention of slavery, from fear of being thought Abolitionists. The moment they are dead, their friends rake up every word they ever contrived to whisper in a corner for liberty, and parade it before the world ; growing angry, all the while, with us, because we insist on explaining these chance expressions by the tenor of a long and base life. While drunk with the temptations of the present hour, men are willing to bow to any Moloch. When their friends bury them, they feel what bitter mockery, fifty years hence, any epitaph will be, if it cannot record of one living in this era some service rendered to the slave ! These, Mr. Chairman, are the reasons why we take care that "the memory of the wicked shall rot."

I have claimed that the Anti-Slavery cause has, from the first, been ably and dispassionately argued, every objection candidly examined, and every difficulty or doubt any where honestly entertained, treated with respect. Let me glance at the literature of the cause, and try not so much, in a brief hour, to prove this assertion, as to point out the sources from which any one may satisfy himself of its truth.

I will begin with certainly the ablest and perhaps the most honest statesman who has ever touched the slave question. Any one who will examine JOHN QUINCY ADAMS'S speech on Texas, in 1838, will see that he was only seconding the full and able exposure of the Texas plot, prepared by BENJAMIN LUNDY ; to one of whose pamphlets Dr. CHANNING, in his "Letter to Henry Clay," has confessed his obligation. Every one acquainted with those years will allow that the North owes its earliest knowledge and first awakening on that subject to Mr. Lundy, who made long journeys and devoted years to the investigation. His labors have this attestation, that they quickened the zeal and strengthened the hands of such men as Adams and Channing.

Look next at the Right of Petition. Long before any member of Congress had opened his mouth in its defence, the Abolition presses and lecturers had examined and defended the limits of this right, with profound historical research and eminent constitutional ability. So thoroughly had the work been done, that all classes of the people had made up their

minds about it, long before any speaker of eminence had touched it in Congress. The politicians were little aware of this. When Mr. Adams threw himself so gallantly into the breach, it is said he wrote anxiously home to know whether he would be supported in Massachusetts; little aware of the outburst of popular gratitude that the Northern breeze was even then bringing him, deep and cordial enough to wipe away the old grudge Massachusetts had borne him so long. Mr. Adams himself was only in favor of receiving the petitions, and advised to refuse their prayer, which was the abolition of slavery in the District. He doubted the power of Congress. His doubts were examined by Mr. WILLIAM GOODELL, in two letters of most able and acute logic, and of masterly ability. If Mr. Adams still retained his doubts, it is certain, at least, that he never expressed them afterward. When Mr. Clay paraded the same objections, the whole question of the power of Congress over the District was treated by THEODORE D. WELD, in the fullest manner, and with the widest research: indeed, leaving nothing to be added: an argument which Dr. Channing characterized as "demonstration," and pronounced the Essay "one of the ablest pamphlets from the American press." No answer was ever attempted. The best proof of its ability is, that no one since has presumed to doubt the power. Lawyers and statesmen have tacitly settled down into its full acknowledgment.

The influence of the Colonization Society on the welfare of the colored race was the first question our movement encountered. To the close logic, eloquent appeals, and fully sustained charges of Mr. GARRISON'S Letters on that subject, no answer was ever made. Judge JAY followed with a work full and able, establishing every charge by the most patient investigation of facts. It is not too much to say of these two volumes, that they left the Colonization Society hopeless at the North. It dares never show its face before the people, and only lingers in some few nooks of sectarian pride, so secluded from the influence of present ideas as to be almost fossil in their character.

The practical working of the slave system, the slave laws, the treatment of slaves, their food, the duration of their lives, their ignorance and moral condition, and the influence of Southern public opinion on their fate, have been spread

out in a detail and with a fullness of evidence which no subject has ever received before in this country. Witness the works of PHELPS, BOURNE, RANKIN, GRIMKE, the "Anti-Slavery Record," and, above all, that encyclopædia of facts and storehouse of arguments, the "Thousand Witnessess" of Mr. THEODORE D. WELD. He also prepared that full and valuable tract for the World's Convention called "Slavery and the Internal Slave Trade in the United States," published in London, 1841. Unique in Anti-Slavery literature is Mrs. CHILD'S "Appeal," one of the ablest of our weapons, and one of the finest efforts of her rare genius.

The Princeton Review, I believe, first challenged the Abolitionists to an investigation of the teachings of the Bible on slavery. That field had been somewhat broken by our English predecessors. But in England, the pro-slavery party had been soon shamed out of the attempt to drag the Bible into their service, and hence the discussion there had been short and somewhat superficial. The pro-slavery side of the question has been eagerly sustained by Theological Reviews and Doctors of Divinity without number, from the half-way and timid faltering of Wayland up to the unblushing and melancholy recklessness of Stuart. The argument on the other side has come wholly from the Abolitionists; for neither Dr. Hague nor Dr. Barnes can be said to have added any thing to the wide research, critical acumen, and comprehensive views of THEODORE D. WELD, BERAH GREEN, J. G. FEE, and the old work of DUNCAN.

On the constitutional questions which have at various times arisen,—the citizenship of the colored man, the soundness of the "Prigg" decision, the constitutionality of the old Fugitive Slave Law, the true construction of the slave-surrender clause,—nothing has been added, either in the way of fact or argument, to the works of JAY, WELD, ALVAN STEWART, E. G. LORING, S. E. SEWALL, RICHARD HILDRETH, W. I. BOWDITCH, the masterly Essays of the *Emancipator* at New York, and the *Liberator* at Boston, and the various addresses of the Massachusetts and American Societies for the last twenty years. The idea of the Anti-Slavery character of the Constitution—the opiate with which Free Soil quiets its conscience for voting under a pro-slavery government—I heard first suggested by Mr. GARRISON in 1838. It was elaborate-

ly argued in that year in all our anti-slavery gatherings, both here and in New York, and sustained with great ability by ALVAN STEWART, and in part by T. D. WELD. The Anti-Slavery construction of the Constitution was ably argued in 1836, in the "Anti-Slavery Magazine," by Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY; one of the very first to seek the side of Mr. Garrison, and pledge to the slave his life and efforts—a pledge which thirty years of devoted labors have nobly redeemed. If it has either merit or truth, they are due to no legal learning recently added to our ranks, but to some of the old and well-known pioneers. This claim has since received the fullest investigation from Mr. LYSANDER SPOONER, who has urged it with all his unrivalled ingenuity, laborious research, and close logic. He writes as a lawyer, and has no wish, I believe, to be ranked with any class of anti-slavery men.

The influence of slavery on our government has received the profoundest philosophical investigation from the pen of RICHARD HILDRETH, in his invaluable essay on "Despotism in America"—a work which deserves a place by the side of the ablest political disquisitions of any age.

Mrs. CHAPMAN'S survey of "Ten Years of Anti-Slavery Experience," was the first attempt at a philosophical discussion of the various aspects of the Anti-Slavery cause, and the problems raised by its struggles with sect and party. You, Mr. Chairman, [EDMUND QUINCY, Esq.,] in the elaborate Reports of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society for the last ten years, have followed in the same path, making to American literature a contribution of the highest value, and in a department where you have few rivals and no superior. Whoever shall write the history either of this movement, or any other attempted under a Republican Government, will find nowhere else so clear an insight and so full an acquaintance with the most difficult part of his subject.

Even the vigorous mind of Rantoul, the ablest man, without doubt, of the Democratic party, and perhaps the ablest politician in New England, added little or nothing to the storehouse of Anti-Slavery argument. The grasp of his intellect and the fullness of his learning, every one will acknowledge. He never trusted himself to speak on any subject till he had dug down to its primal granite. He laid a most generous contribution on the altar of the Anti-Slavery

cause. His speeches on our question, too short and too few, are remarkable for their compact statement, iron logic, bold denunciation, and the wonderful light thrown back upon our history. Yet how little do they present which was not familiar for years in our anti-slavery meetings!

Look, too, at the last great effort of the idol of so many thousands, Mr. Senator Sumner; a discussion of a great national question, of which it has been said that we must go back to Webster's Reply to Hayne, and Fisher Ames on the Jay Treaty, to find its equal in Congress;—praise which we might perhaps qualify, if any adequate report were left us of some of those noble orations of Adams. No one can be blind to the skillful use he has made of his materials, the consummate ability with which he has marshalled them, and the radiant glow which his genius has thrown over all. Yet, with the exception of his reference to the anti-slavery debate in Congress in 1817, there is no train of thought or argument, and no single fact in the whole speech, which has not been familiar in our meetings and essays for the last ten years.

Before leaving the Halls of Congress, I have great pleasure in recognizing one exception to my remarks, Mr. Giddings. Perhaps he is no real exception, since it would not be difficult to establish his claim to be considered one of the original Abolition party. But whether he would choose to be so considered or not, it is certainly true that his long presence at the seat of government, his whole-souled devotedness, his sagacity and unwearied industry, have made him a large contributor to our anti-slavery resources.

The relations of the American Church to slavery, and the duties of private Christians,—the whole casuistry of this portion of the question, so momentous among descendants of the Puritans,—have been discussed with great acuteness and rare common sense by Messrs. GARRISON, GOODELL, GERRIT SMITH, PILLSBURY, and FOSTER. They have never attempted to judge the American Church by any standard except that which she has herself laid down—never claimed that she should be perfect, but have contented themselves with demanding that she should be consistent. They have never judged her except out of her own mouth, and on facts asserted by her own presses and leaders. The sundering of the Methodist and Baptist denominations, and the universal agitation of the reli-

gious world, are the best proof of the sagacity with which their measures have been chosen, the cogent arguments they have used, and the indisputable facts on which their criticisms have been founded.

In nothing have the Abolitionists shown more sagacity or more thorough knowledge of their countrymen, than in the course they have pursued in relation to the Church. None but a New Englander can appreciate the power which church organizations wield over all that share the blood of the Puritans. The influence of each sect over its own members is overwhelming, often shutting out, or controlling, all other influences. We have Popes here, all the more dangerous because no triple crown puts you on your guard. The Methodist priesthood brings Catholicism very vividly to mind. That each local church is independent of all others, we have been somewhat careful to assert, in theory and practice. The individual's independence of all organizations that place themselves between him and his God, some few bold minds have asserted in theory, but most even of those have stopped there.

In such a land, the Abolitionists early saw, that for a moral question like theirs, only two paths lay open: to work through the church—that failing, to join battle with it. Some tried long, like Luther, to be Protestants, and yet not come out of Catholicism; but their eyes were soon opened. Since then, we have been convinced that, to come out from the Church, to hold her up as the Bulwark of Slavery, and to make her shortcomings the main burden of our appeals to the religious sentiment of the community, was our first duty and best policy. This course alienated many friends, and was a subject of frequent rebuke from such men as Dr. Channing. But nothing has ever more strengthened the cause, or won it more influence; and it has had the healthiest effect on the Church itself. British Christians have always sanctioned it, whenever the case has been fairly presented to them. Mr. John Quincy Adams, a man far better acquainted with his own times than Dr. Channing, recognized the soundness of our policy. I do not know that he ever uttered a word in public on the delinquency of the churches; but he is said to have assured his son, at the time the Methodist Church broke asunder, that other men might be more startled by the eclat

of political success, but nothing, in his opinion, promised more good, or showed more clearly the real strength of the Anti-Slavery movement, than that momentous event.*

In 1838, the British Emancipation in the West Indies opened a rich field for observation, and a full harvest of important facts. The Abolitionists, not willing to wait for the official reports of the government, sent special agents through those islands, whose reports they scattered, at great expense and by great exertion, broadcast through the land. This was at a time when no newspaper in the country would either lend or sell them the aid of its columns to enlighten the nation on an experiment so vitally important to us. And even now, hardly a press in the country cares or dares to bestow a line or communicate a fact toward the history of that remarkable revolution. The columns of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, *Pennsylvania Freeman*, and *Ohio Bugle*, have been for years full of all that a thorough and patient advocacy of our cause demands. And the eloquent lips of many whom I see around me, and whom I need not name here, have done their share toward pressing all these topics on public attention.

I remember that when, in 1845, the present leaders of the Free Soil party, with Daniel Webster in their company, met to draw up the Anti-Texas Address of the Massachusetts Convention, they sent to Abolitionists for anti-slavery facts and history, for the remarkable testimonies of our Revolutionary great men which they wished to quote. ("Hear, hear.") When, many years ago, the Legislature of Massachusetts wished to send to Congress a resolution affirming the duty of immediate emancipation, the Committee sent to WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON to draw it up, and it stands now on our statute-book as he drafted it.

How vigilantly, how patiently did we watch the Texas plot from its commencement! The politic South felt that its first move had been too bold, and thenceforward worked underground. For many a year, men laughed at us for entertaining any apprehensions. It was impossible to rouse the North to its peril. DAVID LEE CHILD was thought crazy, because he

NOTE TO THIS EDITION. Henry Clay attached the same importance to the ecclesiastical influence and divisions. See his "Interview with Rev. Dr. Hill, of Louisville, Ky.," *Anti-Slavery Standard*, July 14, 1860.

would not believe there was no danger. His elaborate "Letters on Texan Annexation" are the ablest and most valuable contribution that has been made towards a history of the whole plot. Though we foresaw and proclaimed our conviction that Annexation would be, in the end, a fatal step for the South, we did not feel at liberty to relax our opposition, well knowing the vast increase of strength it would give, at first, to the Slave Power. I remember being one of a Committee which waited on Abbott Lawrence, a year or two only before Annexation, to ask his countenance to some general movement, without distinction of party, against the Texas scheme. He smiled at our fears, begged us to have no apprehensions; stating that his correspondence with leading men at Washington enabled him to assure us Annexation was impossible, and that the South itself was determined to defeat the project. A short time after, Senators and Representatives from Texas took their seats in Congress!

Many of these services to the slave were done before I joined his cause. In thus referring to them, do not suppose me merely seeking occasion of eulogy on my predecessors and present co-laborers. I recall these things only to rebut the contemptuous criticism which some about us make the excuse for their past neglect of the movement, and in answer to "Ion's" representation of our course as reckless fanaticism, childish impatience, utter lack of good sense, and of our meetings as scenes only of excitement, of reckless and indiscriminate denunciation. I assert that every social, moral, economical, religious, political, and historical aspect of the question has been ably and patiently examined. And all this has been done with an industry and ability which have left little for the professional skill, scholarly culture and historical learning of the new laborers to accomplish. If the people are still in doubt, it is from the inherent difficulty of the subject, or a hatred of light, not from want of it.

So far from the Anti-Slavery cause having lacked a manly and able discussion, I think it will be acknowledged hereafter that this discussion has been one of the noblest contributions to a literature really American. Heretofore, not only has our tone been but an echo of foreign culture, but the very topics discussed and the views maintained have been too often pale reflections of European politics and European philoso-

phy. No matter what dress we assumed, the voice was ever "the voice of Jacob." At last we have stirred a question thoroughly American; the subject has been looked at from a point of view entirely American; and it is of such deep interest, that it has called out all the intellectual strength of the nation. For once, the nation speaks its own thoughts, in its own language, and the tone also is all its own. It will hardly do for the defeated party to claim that, in this discussion, all the ability is on their side.

We are charged with lacking foresight, and said to exaggerate. This charge of exaggeration brings to my mind a fact I mentioned, last month, at Horticultural Hall. The theatres, in many of our large cities, bring out, night after night, all the radical doctrines and all the startling scenes of "Uncle Tom." They preach immediate emancipation, and slaves shoot their hunters to loud applause. Two years ago, sitting in this hall, I was myself somewhat startled by the assertion of my friend, Mr. Pillsbury, that the theatres would receive the gospel of anti-slavery truth earlier than the churches. A hiss went up from the galleries, and many in the audience were shocked by the remark. I asked myself whether I could endorse such a statement, and felt that I could not. I could not believe it to be true. Only two years have passed, and what was then deemed rant and fanaticism, by seven out of ten who heard it, has proved true. The theatre, bowing to its audience, has preached immediate emancipation, and given us the whole of "Uncle Tom"; while the pulpit is either silent or hostile, and in the columns of the theological papers, the work is subjected to criticism, to reproach, and its author to severe rebuke. Do not, therefore, friends, set down as extravagant every statement which your experience does not warrant. It may be that you and I have not studied the signs of the times quite as accurately as the speaker. Going up and down the land, coming into close contact with the feelings and prejudices of the community, he is sometimes a better judge than you are of its present state. An Abolitionist has more motives for watching and more means of finding out the true state of public opinion, than most of those careless critics who jeer at his assertions to-day, and are the first to cry, "Just what *I* said," when his prophecy becomes fact to-morrow.

Mr. "Ion" thinks, also, that we have thrown away opportunities, and needlessly outraged the men and parties about us. Far from it. The Anti-Slavery movement was a patient and humble suppliant at every door whence any help could possibly be hoped. If we now repudiate and denounce some of our institutions, it is because we have faithfully tried them, and found them deaf to the claims of justice and humanity. Our great Leader, when he first meditated this crusade, did not

"At once, like a sunburst, his banner unfurl."

O, no! he sounded his way warily forward. Brought up in the strictest reverence for church organizations, his first effort was to enlist the clergymen of Boston in the support of his views. On their aid he counted confidently in his effort to preach immediate repentance of all sin. He did not go, with *malice prepense*, as some seem to imagine, up to that "attic" where Mayor Otis with difficulty found him. He did not court hostility or seek exile. He did not sedulously endeavor to cut himself off from the sympathy and countenance of the community about him. O, no! A fervid disciple of the American Church, he conferred with some of the leading clergy of the city, and laid before them his convictions on the subject of slavery.* He painted their responsibility, and tried to induce them to take from his shoulders the burden of so mighty a movement. He laid himself at their feet. He recognized the colossal strength of the Church; he knew that against their opposition it would be almost desperate to attempt to relieve the slave. He entreated them, therefore, to take up the cause. But the Church turned away from

* "The writer accompanied Mr. Garrison, in 1829, in calling upon a number of prominent ministers in Boston, to secure their coöperation in this cause. *Our expectations of important assistance from them were, at that time, very sanguine.*"—*Testimony of WILLIAM GOODELL, in a recent work entitled "SLAVERY AND ANTI-SLAVERY."*

In an address on Slavery and Colonization, delivered by Mr. Garrison, in the Park Street Church, Boston, July 4, 1829, (which was subsequently published in the *National Philanthropist*,) he said—"I call on the ambassadors of Christ, every where, to make known this proclamation, 'Thus saith the Lord God of the Africans, Let this people go, that they may serve me.' I ask them to 'proclaim liberty to the captive, and the opening of the prison to them that are bound.' I call on the churches of the living God to LEAD in this great enterprise."

him! They shut their doors upon him! They bade him compromise his convictions—smother one half of them, and support the Colonization movement, making his own auxiliary to that, or they would have none of him. Like Luther, he said—“Here I stand; God help me; I can do nothing else!” But the men who joined him were not persuaded that the case was so desperate. So they returned, each to his own local sect, and remained in them until some of us, myself among the number—later converts to the Anti-Slavery movement—thought they were slow and faltering in their obedience to conscience, and that they ought to have cut loose much sooner than they did. But a patience, that old sympathies would not allow to be exhausted, and associations, planted deeply in youth, and spreading over a large part of manhood, were too strong for any mere argument to dislodge them. So they still persisted in remaining in the Church. Their zeal was so fervent and their labors so abundant, that in some towns large societies were formed, led by most of the clergymen, and having almost all the church members on their lists. In those same towns now, you will not find one single Abolitionist, of any stamp whatever. They excuse their falling back by alleging that we have injured the cause by our extravagance and denunciation, and by the various other questions with which our names are associated. This might be a good reason why they should not work with us, but does it excuse their not working at all? These people have been once awakened, thoroughly instructed in the momentous character of the movement, and have acknowledged the rightful claim of the slave on their sympathy and exertions. It is not possible that a few thousand persons, however extravagant, could prevent devoted men from finding some way to help such a cause, or at least manifesting their interest in it. But they have not only left us, they have utterly deserted the slave, in the hour when the interests of their sects came across his cause. Is it uncharitable to conjecture the reason? At the early period, however, to which I have referred, the Church was much exercised by the persistency of the Abolitionists in not going out from her. When I joined the anti-slavery ranks, sixteen years ago, the voice of the clergy was, “Will these *pests* never leave us? Will they still remain to trouble us? If you do not like us, there

is the door!" When our friends had exhausted all entreaty, and tested the Christianity of that body, they shook off the dust of their feet, and came out of her.

At the outset, Mr. Garrison called on the head of the Orthodox denomination—a man, compared with whose influence on the mind of New England, that of the statesman whose death you have just mourned was, I think, but as dust in the balance—a man who then held the Orthodoxy of Boston in his right hand, and who has since taken up the West by its four corners, and given it so largely to Puritanism—I mean the Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher. Mr. Garrison was one of those who bowed to the spell of the matchless eloquence that then fulminated over our Zion. He waited on his favorite divine, and urged him to give to the new movement the incalculable aid of his name and countenance. He was patiently heard. He was allowed to unfold his plans and array his facts. The reply of the veteran was, "Mr. Garrison, I have too many irons in the fire to put in another." My friend said, "Doctor, you had better take them all out and put this one in, if you mean well either to the religion or to the civil liberty of our country." (Cheers.)

The great Orthodox leader did not rest with merely refusing to put another iron into his fire; he attempted to limit the irons of other men. As President of Lane Theological Seminary, he endeavored to prevent the students from investigating the subject of slavery. The result, we all remember, was a strenuous resistance on the part of a large number of the students, led by that remarkable man, THEODORE D. WELD. The Right triumphed, and Lane Seminary lost her character and noblest pupils at the same time. She has languished ever since, even with such a President. Why should I follow Dr. Beecher into those Ecclesiastical Conventions where he has been tried, and found wanting, in fidelity to the slave? He has done no worse, indeed, he has done much better, than most of his class. His opposition has always been open and manly.

But, Mr. Chairman, there is something in the blood, which, men tell us, brings out virtues and defects, even when they have lain dormant for a generation. Good and evil qualities are hereditary, the physicians say. The blood whose warm currents of eloquent aid my friend solicited in vain in

that generation, has sprung voluntarily to his assistance in the next—both from the pulpit and the press—to rouse the world by the vigor and pathos of its appeals. (Enthusiastic cheers.) Even on that great triumph I would say a word. Marked and unequalled as has been that success, remember, in explanation of the phenomenon—for “Uncle Tom’s Cabin” is rather an event than a book—remember this: if the old Anti-Slavery movement had not roused the sympathies of Mrs. Stowe, the book had never been written; if that movement had not raised up hundreds of thousands of hearts to sympathize with the slave, the book had never been read. (Cheers.) Not that the genius of the author has not made the triumph all her own; not that the unrivalled felicity of its execution has not trebled, quadrupled, increased ten-fold, if you please, the number of readers; but there must be a spot even for Archimedes to rest his lever upon, before he can move the world, (cheers,) and this effort of genius, consecrated to the noblest purpose, might have fallen dead and unnoticed in 1835. It is the Anti-Slavery movement which has changed 1835 to 1852. Those of us familiar with Anti-Slavery literature know well that RICHARD HILBRETH’S “Archy Moore,” now “The White Slave,” was a book of eminent ability; that it owed its want of success to no lack of genius, but only to the fact that it was a work born out of due time; that the Anti-Slavery cause had not then aroused sufficient numbers, on the wings of whose enthusiasm even the most delightful fiction could have risen into world-wide influence and repute. To the cause which had changed 1835 to 1852 is due something of the influence of “Uncle Tom’s Cabin.”

The Abolitionists have never overlooked the wonderful power that the wand of the novelist was yet to wield in their behalf over the hearts of the world. Frederika Bremer only expressed the common sentiment of many of us, when she declared that “the fate of the negro was the romance of our history.” Again and again, from my earliest knowledge of the cause, have I heard the opinion, that in the debateable land between Freedom and Slavery, in the thrilling incidents of the escape and sufferings of the fugitive, and the perils of his friends, the future Walter Scott of America would find the “border-land” of his romance, and the most touching in-

cidents of his "sixty years since"; and that the literature of America would gather its freshest laurels from that field.

So much, Mr. Chairman, for our treatment of the Church. We clung to it as long as we hoped to make it useful. Disappointed in that, we have tried to expose its paltering and hypocrisy on this question, broadly and with unflinching boldness, in hopes to purify and bring it to our aid. Our labors with the great religious societies, with the press, with the institutions of learning, have been as untiring, and almost as unsuccessful. We have tried to do our duty to every public question that has arisen, which could be made serviceable in rousing general attention. The Right of Petition, the Power of Congress, the Internal Slave Trade, Texas, the Compromise Measures, the Fugitive Slave Law, the motions of leading men, the tactics of parties, have all been watched and used with sagacity and effect as means to produce a change in public opinion. Dr. Channing has thanked the Abolition party, in the name of all the lovers of free thought and free speech, for having vindicated that right, when all others seemed ready to surrender it; vindicated it at the cost of reputation, ease, property, even life itself. The only blood that has ever been shed, on this side the ocean, in defence of the freedom of the press, was the blood of LOVEJOY, one of their number. In December, 1836, Dr. Channing spoke of their position in these terms:—

"Whilst, in obedience to conscience, they have refrained from opposing force to force, they have still persevered, amidst menace and insult, in bearing their testimony against wrong, in giving utterance to their deep convictions. Of such men, I do not hesitate to say, that they have rendered to freedom a more essential service than any body of men among us. The defenders of freedom are not those who claim and exercise rights which no one assails, or who win shouts of applause by well-turned compliments to liberty in the days of her triumph. They are those who stand up for rights which mobs, conspiracies, or single tyrants put in jeopardy; who contend for liberty in that particular form which is threatened at the moment by the many or the few. To the Abolitionists this honor belongs. The first systematic effort to strip the citizen of freedom of speech, they have met with invincible resolution. From my heart I thank them. I am myself their debtor. I am not sure that I should this moment write in safety, had they shrunk from the conflict, had they shut their lips, imposed silence on their presses, and hid themselves before their ferocious assailants. I know not where these outrages would have stopped, had they not met resistance from their first destined victims. The newspaper press, with a few exceptions, uttered no genuine indignant rebuke of the wrongdoers, but rather countenanced by its gentle censures the reign of Force. The mass of the people looked supinely on this new tyranny, under which

a portion of their fellow-citizens seemed to be sinking. A tone of denunciation was beginning to proscribe all discussion of slavery ; and had the spirit of violence, which selected associations as its first objects, succeeded in this preparatory enterprise, it might have been easily turned against any and every individual, who might presume to agitate the unwelcome subject. It is hard to say to what outrage the fettered press of the country might not have been reconciled. I thank the Abolitionists that, in this evil day, they were true to the rights which the multitude were ready to betray. Their purpose to suffer, to die, rather than surrender their dearest liberties, taught the lawless that they had a foe to contend with whom it was not safe to press, whilst, like all manly appeals, it called forth reflection and sympathy in the better portion of the community. In the name of freedom and humanity, I thank them."

No one, Mr. Chairman, deserves more of that honor than he whose chair you now occupy. Our youthful city can boast of but few places of historic renown ; but I know of no one which coming time is more likely to keep in memory, than the roof which FRANCIS JACKSON offered to the anti-slavery women of Boston, when Mayor Lyman confessed he was unable to protect their meeting, and when the only protection the laws could afford Mr. Garrison was the shelter of the common jail.

Sir, when a nation sets itself to do evil, and all its leading forces, wealth, party, and piety, join in the career, it is impossible but that those who offer a constant opposition should be hated and maligned, no matter how wise, cautious and well-planned their course may be. We are peculiar sufferers in this way. The community has come to hate its reproving Nathan so bitterly, that even those whom the relenting part is beginning to regard as standard-bearers of the anti-slavery host, think it unwise to avow any connection or sympathy with him. I refer to some of the leaders of the political movement against slavery. They feel it to be their mission to marshal and use as effectively as possible the present convictions of the people. They cannot afford to encumber themselves with the odium which twenty years of angry agitation have engendered in great sects sore from unsparing rebuke, parties galled by constant defeat, and leading men provoked by unexpected exposure. They are willing to confess, privately, that our movement produced theirs, and that its continued existence is the very breath of their life. But, at the same time, they would fain walk on the road, without being soiled by too close contact with the rough pioneers who threw

it up. They are wise and honorable, and their silence is very expressive.

When I speak of their eminent position and acknowledged ability, another thought strikes me. Who converted these men and their distinguished associates? It is said we have shown neither sagacity in plans, nor candor in discussion, nor ability. Who, then, or what, converted Burlingame and Wilson, Sumner and Adams, Palfrey and Mann, Chase and Hale, and Phillips and Giddings? Who taught the *Christian Register*, the *Daily Advertiser*, and that class of prints, that there were such things as a slave and a slaveholder in the land, and so gave them some more intelligent basis than their mere instincts to hate WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON? (Shouts and laughter.) What magic wand was it whose touch made the toadying servility of the land start up the real demon that it was, and at the same time gathered into the slave's service the professional ability, ripe culture and personal integrity that grace the Free Soil ranks? We never argue! These men, then, were converted by simple denunciation! They were all converted by the "hot," "reckless," "ranting," "bigoted," "fanatic" GARRISON, who never troubled himself about facts, nor stopped to argue with an opponent, but straightway knocked him down! (Roars of laughter and cheers.) My old and valued friend, Mr. Sumner, often boasts that he was a reader of the *Liberator* before I was. Do not criticise too much the agency by which such men were converted. That blade has a double edge. Our reckless course—our empty rant—our fanaticism, has made Abolitionists of some of the best and ablest men in the land. We are inclined to go on, and see if even with such poor tools we cannot make some more. (Enthusiastic applause.) Anti-slavery zeal and the roused conscience of the "godless come-outers" made the trembling South demand the Fugitive Slave Law, and the Fugitive Slave Law "provoked" Mrs. Stowe to the good work of "Uncle Tom." That is something! (Cheers.) Let me say, in passing, that you will nowhere find an earlier or more generous appreciation, or more flowing eulogy, of these men and their labors, than in the columns of the *Liberator*. No one, however feeble, has ever peeped or muttered, in any quarter, that the vigilant eye of the Pioneer has not recognized him. He has stretched out

the right hand of a most cordial welcome the moment any man's face was turned Zionward. (Loud cheers.)

I do not mention these things to praise Mr. Garrison; I do not stand here for that purpose. You will not deny—if you do, I can prove it—that the movement of the Abolitionists converted these men. Their constituents were converted by it. The assault upon the right of petition, upon the right to print and speak of slavery, the denial of the right of Congress over the District, the annexation of Texas, the Fugitive Slave Law, were measures which the Anti-Slavery movement provoked, and the discussion of which has made all the Abolitionists we have. The Anti-Slavery cause, then, converted these men; it gave them a constituency; it gave them an opportunity to speak, and it gave them a public to listen. The Anti-Slavery cause gave them their votes, gave them their offices, furnished them their facts, gave them their audience. If you tell me they cherished all these principles in their own breasts before Mr. Garrison appeared, I can only say, if the Anti-Slavery movement did not give them their ideas, it surely gave them the courage to utter them.

In such circumstances, is it not singular that the name of WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON has never been pronounced on the floor of the United States Congress, linked with any epithet but that of contempt! No one of those men who owe their ideas, their station, their audience, to him, have ever thought it worth their while to utter one word in grateful recognition of the power that called them into being. When obliged, by the course of their argument, to treat the question historically, they can go across the water to Clarkson and Wilberforce—yes, to a safe salt-water distance. (Laughter.) As Daniel Webster, when he was talking to the farmers of Western New York, and wished to contrast slave labor and free labor, did not dare to compare New York with Virginia,—sister States, under the same government, planted by the same race, worshipping at the same altar, speaking the same language,—identical in all respects, save that one in which he wished to seek the contrast; but, no; he compared it with *Brazil*—(cheers and laughter)—the contrast was so close! (Renewed cheers.) Catholic—Protestant; Spanish—Saxon; despotism—municipal institutions; readers of Lope de Vega and of Shakspeare; mutterers of the Mass—children of the

Bible! But Virginia is too near home! So is GARRISON! One would have thought there was something in the human breast that would sometimes break through policy. These noble-hearted men whom I have named must surely have found quite irksome the constant practice of what Dr. Gardner used to call "that despicable virtue, *prudence*"!—(laughter)—one would have thought, when they heard that name spoken with contempt, their ready eloquence would have leaped from its scabbard to avenge even a word that threatened him with insult. But it never came—never! (Sensation.) I do not say I blame them. Perhaps they thought they should serve the cause better by drawing a broad black line between themselves and him. Perhaps they thought the devil could be cheated;—I do not think he can. (Laughter and cheers.)

We are perfectly willing—I am for one—to be the dead lumber that shall make a path for these men into the light and love of the people. We hope for nothing better. Use us freely, in any way, for the slave. When the temple is finished, the tools will not complain that they are thrown aside, let who will lead up the nation to "put on the topstone with shoutings." But while so much remains to be done, while our little camp is beleaguered all about, do nothing to weaken his influence, whose sagacity, more than any other single man's, has led us up hither, and whose name is identified with that movement which the North still heeds, and the South still fears the most. After all, Mr. Chairman, this is no hard task. We know very well, that, notwithstanding this loud clamor about our harsh judgment of men and things, our opinions differ very little from those of our Free Soil friends, or of intelligent men generally, when you really get at them. It has even been said that one of that family which has made itself so infamously conspicuous here, in executing the Fugitive Slave Law, a Judge, whose earnest defence of that Law we all heard in Faneuil Hall, did himself, but a little while before, arrange for a fugitive to be hid till pursuit was over. I hope it is true—it would be an honorable inconsistency. And if it be not true of him, we know it is of others. Yet it is base to incite others to deeds, at which, whenever we are hidden from public notice, our own hearts recoil! But thus we see that when men lay aside

the judicial ermine, the senator's robe, or the party collar, and sit down in private life, you can hardly distinguish their tones from ours. Their eyes seem as anointed as our own. As in Pope's day —

—“At all we laugh they laugh, no doubt,
The only difference is, we dare *laugh out*.”

Caution is not always good policy in a cause like ours. It is said that when Napoleon saw the day going against him, he used to throw away all the rules of war, and trust himself to the hot impetuosity of his soldiers. The masses are governed more by impulse than conviction; and even were it not so, the convictions of most men are on our side, and this will surely appear, if we can only pierce the crust of their prejudice or indifference. I observe that our Free Soil friends never stir their audience so deeply as when some individual leaps beyond the platform, and strikes upon the very heart of the people. Men listen to discussions of laws and tactics with ominous patience. It is when Mr. Sumner, in Faneuil Hall, avows his determination to disobey the Fugitive Slave Law, and cries out, “I was a man before I was a Commissioner,” — when Mr. Giddings says of the fall of slavery, quoting Adams, “Let it come; if it must come in *blood*, yet I say, LET IT COME!” — that their associates on the platform are sure they are wrecking the party — while many a heart beneath beats its first pulse of anti-slavery life.

These are brave words. When I compare them with the general tone of Free Soil men in Congress, I distrust the atmosphere of Washington and of politics. These men move about, Sauls and Goliaths among us, taller by many a cubit. There they lose port and stature. Mr. Sumner's speech in the Senate unsays no part of his Faneuil Hall pledge. But, though discussing the same topic, no one would gather from any word or argument that the speaker ever took such ground as he did in Faneuil Hall. It is all through, the *law*, the *manner* of the surrender, not the surrender itself, of the slave, that he objects to. As my friend Mr. Pillsbury so forcibly says, so far as any thing in the speech shows, he puts the slave behind the jury trial, behind the *habeas corpus* act, and behind the new interpretation of the Constitution, and says to the slave claimant — “You must get through all

these, before you reach him ; but if you *can* get through all these, you may have him ! ” It was no tone like this which made the old Hall rock ! Not if he got through twelve jury trials, and forty *habeas corpus* acts, and Constitutions built high as yonder monument, would he permit so much as the shadow of the little finger of the slave claimant to touch the slave ! (Loud applause.) At least, so he was understood. In an elaborate discussion by the leader of the political Anti-Slavery party, of the whole topic of fugitive slaves, you do not find one protest against the surrender itself, one frank expression on the constitutional clause, or any indication of the speaker’s final purpose, should any one be properly claimed under that provision. It was under no such uncertain trumpet that the anti-slavery host was originally marshalled. The tone is that of the German soldiers whom Napoleon routed. They did not care, they said, for the defeat, but only that they were not beaten according to rule. (Laughter and cheers.) Mr. Mann, in his speech February 15, 1850, says :—“THE STATES BEING SEPARATED, I WOULD AS SOON RETURN MY OWN BROTHER OR SISTER INTO BONDAGE, AS I WOULD RETURN A FUGITIVE SLAVE. BEFORE GOD, AND CHRIST, AND ALL CHRISTIAN MEN, THEY ARE MY BROTHERS AND SISTERS.” What a condition ! from the lips, too, of a champion of the Higher Law ! Whether the States be separate or united, neither my brother nor any other man’s brother shall, with my consent, go back to bondage. (Enthusiastic cheers.) So speaks the *heart*—Mr. Mann’s version is that of the politician.

Mr. Mann’s recent speech in August, 1852, has the same non-committal tone to which I have alluded in Mr. Sumner’s. While professing, in the most eloquent terms, his loyalty to the Higher Law, Mr. Sutherland asked—“Is there, in Mr. Mann’s opinion, any conflict between that Higher Law and the Constitution ? If so, what is it ? If not so, why introduce an irrelevant topic into the debate ? ” *Mr. Mann avoided any reply, and asked not to be interrupted !* Is that the frankness which becomes an Abolitionist ? Can such concealment help any cause ? The design of Mr. Sutherland is evident. If Mr. Mann had allowed there was no conflict between the Higher Law and the Constitution, all his remarks were futile and out of order. But if he asserted that

any such conflict existed, how did he justify himself in swearing to support that instrument?—a question our Free Soil friends are slow to meet. Mr. Mann saw the dilemma, and avoided it by silence!

The same speech contains the usual deprecatory assertions that Free Soilers have no wish to interfere with slavery in the States; that they “consent to let slavery remain where it is.” If he means that he, Horace Mann, a moral and accountable being, “consents to let slavery remain where it is,” all the rest of his speech is sound and fury, signifying nothing. If he means that he, Horace Mann, *as a politician and party man*, consents to that, but, elsewhere and otherwise, will do his best to abolish this “all-comprehending wickedness of slavery, in which every wrong and every crime has its natural home”—then he should have plainly said so. Otherwise, his disclaimer is unworthy of him, and could have deceived no one. He must have known that all the South care for is the *action*, not in what *capacity* the deed is done.

Mr. Giddings is more careful in his statement; but, judged by his speech on the “Platforms,” how little does he seem to understand either his own duty, or the true philosophy of the cause he serves! He says—

“We, Sir, would drive the slave question from discussion in this Hall. It never had a constitutional existence here. Separate this Government from all interference with slavery; let the Federal Power wash its hands from that institution; let us purify ourselves from its contagion; leave it with the States, who alone have the power to sustain it—then, Sir, will agitation cease in regard to it here; then we shall have nothing more to do with it; our time will be no more occupied with it; and, like a band of freemen, a band of brothers, we could meet here, and legislate for the prosperity, the improvement of mankind, for the elevation of our race.”

Mr. Sumner speaks in the same strain. He says—

“The time will come when Courts or Congress will declare, that nowhere under the Constitution can man hold property in man. For the Republic, such a decree will be the way of peace and safety. As slavery is banished from the national jurisdiction, it will cease to vex our national politics. It may linger in the States as a local institution, but it will no longer endanger national animosities when it no longer demands national support.”

* * * “For himself, he knows *no better aim* under the Constitution than to bring the Government back to the precise position which it occupied” when it was launched.

This seems to me a very mistaken strain. Whenever slavery is banished from our national jurisdiction, it will be a

momentous gain, a vast stride. But let us not mistake the half-way house for the end of the journey. I need not say that it matters not to Abolitionists under what special law slavery exists. Their battle lasts while it exists any where, and I doubt not Mr. Sumner and Mr. Giddings feel themselves enlisted for the whole war. I will even suppose, what neither of these gentlemen states, that their plan includes, not only that slavery shall be abolished in the District and Territories, but that the slave basis of representation shall be struck from the Constitution, and the slave-surrender clause construed away. But even then, does Mr. Giddings or Mr. Sumner really believe that slavery, existing in its full force in the States, "will cease to vex our national politics"? Can they point to any State where a powerful oligarchy, possessed of immense wealth, has ever existed, without attempting to meddle in the government? Even now, do not manufacturing, banking and commercial capital perpetually vex our politics? Why should not slave capital exert the same influence? Do they imagine that a hundred thousand men, possessed of *two thousand millions of dollars*, which they feel the spirit of the age is seeking to tear from their grasp, will not eagerly catch at all the support they can obtain by getting the control of the Government? In a land where the dollar is almighty, "where the sin of not being rich is only atoned for by the effort to become so," do they doubt that such an oligarchy will generally succeed? Besides, banking and manufacturing capital are not urged by despair to seek a controlling influence in politics. They know they are about equally safe, whichever party rules—that no party wishes to legislate their rights away. Slave property knows that its being allowed to exist depends on its having the virtual control of the Government. Its constant presence in politics is dictated, therefore, by despair as well as by the wish to secure fresh privileges. Money, however, is not the only strength of the Slave Power. That, indeed, were enough, in an age when capitalists are our feudal barons. But, though driven entirely from national shelter, the slaveholders would have the strength of old associations, and of peculiar laws in their own States, which gives those States wholly into their hands. A weaker prestige, fewer privileges, and less comparative wealth, have enabled the British aristocracy to rule

England for two centuries, though the root of their strength was cut at Naseby. It takes ages for deeply-rooted institutions to die; and driving slavery into the States will hardly be our Naseby. Whoever, therefore, lays the flattering unction to his soul, that while slavery exists any where in the States, our legislators will sit down "like a band of brothers," — unless they are all slaveholding brothers, — is doomed to find himself woefully mistaken. Mr. Adams, ten years ago, refused to sanction this doctrine of his friend, Mr. Giddings, combating it ably and eloquently in his well-known reply to Ingersoll. Though Mr. Adams touches on but one point, the principle he lays down has many other applications.

But is Mr. Giddings willing to sit down with slaveholders, "like a band of brothers," knowing all the time that they are tyrants at home, and not seek to use the common strength to protect their victims? Does he not know that it is impossible for Free States and Slave States to unite under any form of Constitution, no matter how clean the parchment may be, without the compact resulting in new strength to the slave system? It is the unimpaired strength of Massachusetts and New York, and the youthful vigor of Ohio, that, even now, enable bankrupt Carolina to hold up the institution. Every nation must maintain peace within her limits. No government can exist which does not fulfil that function. When we say the Union will maintain peace in Carolina, that being a Slave State, what does "peace" mean? It means keeping the slave beneath the heel of his master. Now, even on the principle of two wrongs making a right, if we put this great weight of a common government into the scale of the slaveholder, we are bound to add something equal to the slave's side. But, no; Mr. Giddings is content to give the slaveholder the irresistible and organic help of a common government, and bind himself to utter no word, and move not a finger, in his civil capacity, to help the slave! An Abolitionist would find himself not much at home, I fancy, in that "band of brothers"!

And Mr. Sumner "knows no better aim, under the Constitution, than to bring back the Government" to where it was in 1789! Has the voyage been so very honest and prosperous a one, in his opinion, that his only wish is to start again with the same ship, the same crew, and the same sailing or-

ders? Grant all he claims as to the state of public opinion, the intentions of leading men, and the form of our institutions at that period; still, with all these checks on wicked men, and helps to good ones, here we are, according to his own showing, ruled by slavery, tainted to the core with slavery, and binding the infamous Fugitive Slave Law like an honorable frontlet on our brows! The more accurate and truthful his glowing picture of the public virtue of 1789, the stronger my argument. If even all those great patriots, and all that enthusiasm for justice and liberty, did not avail to keep us safe in such a Union, what will? In such desperate circumstances, can his statesmanship devise no better aim than to try the same experiment over again, under precisely the same conditions? What new guarantees does he propose to prevent the voyage from being turned into a piratical slave-trading cruise? None! Have sixty years taught us nothing? In 1660, the English thought, in recalling Charles II., that the memory of that scaffold which had once darkened the windows of Whitehall, would be guarantee enough for his good behavior. But, spite of the spectre, Charles II. repeated Charles I., and James outdid him. Wiser by this experience, when the nation, in 1689, got another chance, they trusted to no guarantees, but so arranged the very elements of their government that William III. *could not* repeat Charles I. Let us profit by the lesson. These mistakes of leading men merit constant attention. Such remarks as those I have quoted, uttered from the high places of political life, however carefully guarded, have a sad influence on the rank and file of the party. The Anti-Slavery awakening has cost too many years and too much labor to risk letting its energy be turned into a wrong channel, or balked by fruitless experiments. Neither the slave nor the country must be cheated a second time.

Mr. Chairman, when I remember the grand port of these men elsewhere, and witness this confusion of ideas, and veiling of their proud crests to party necessities, they seem to me to lose in Washington something of their old giant proportions. How often have we witnessed this change! It seems the inevitable result of political life under any government, but especially under ours; and we are surprised at it in these men, only because we fondly hoped they would be ex-

ceptions to the general rule. It was Chamfort, I think, who first likened a Republican Senate House to Milton's Pandemonium;—another proof of the rare insight French writers have shown in criticising Republican institutions. The Capitol at Washington always brings to my mind that other Capitol, which in Milton's great Epic "rose like an exhalation" "from the burning marl"—that towered palace, "with starry lamps and blazing cressets" hung—with "roof of fretted gold" and stately height, its hall "like a covered field." You remember, Sir, the host of archangels gathered round it, and how thick the airy crowd

"Swarmed and were straitened; till, the signal given,
Behold a wonder! They but now who seemed
In bigness to surpass earth's giant sons,
Now less than smallest dwarfs, in narrow room
Throng numberless, like that pygmean race
Beyond the Indian mount; or fairy elves,
Whose midnight revels, by a forest side
Or fountain, some belated peasant sees.

* * * * *

Thus incorporeal spirits to smallest forms
Reduced their shapes immense, and were at large,
Though without number still, amid the hall
Of that infernal court."

Mr. Chairman, they got no farther than the hall! (Cheers.) They were not, in the current phrase, "*a healthy party!*" The healthy party,—the men who made no compromise in order to come under that arch,—Milton describes further on, where he says—

———— "But far within,
And in their own dimensions, like themselves,
The great seraphic lords and cherubim,
In close recess and secret conclave, sat;
A thousand demi-gods on golden seats
Frequent and full."

These were the healthy party! (Loud applause.) These are the Casses and the Houstons, the Footes and the Soulés, the Clays, the Websters and the Douglasses, that bow no lofty forehead in the dust, but can find ample room and verge enough under the Constitution. Our friends go down there, and must be dwarfed into pigmies before they can find space within the lists! (Cheers.)

It would be superfluous to say that we grant the entire sincerity and true-heartedness of these men. But in critical times, when a wrong step entails most disastrous consequences, to "mean well" is not enough. Sincerity is no shield for any man from the criticism of his fellow-laborers. I do not fear that such men as these will take offence at our discussion of their views and conduct. Long years of hard labor, in which we have borne at least our share, have resulted in a golden opportunity. How to use it, friends differ. Shall we stand courteously silent, and let these men play out the play, when, to our thinking, their plan will slacken the zeal, balk the hopes, and waste the efforts of the slave's friends? No! I know Charles Sumner's love for the cause so well, that I am sure he will welcome my criticism whenever I deem his counsel wrong; that he will hail every effort to serve our common client more efficiently. (Great cheering.) It is not his honor nor mine that is at issue; not his feeling nor mine that is to be consulted. The only question for either of us is, What in these golden moments can be done—where can the hardest blow be struck? (Loud applause.) I hope I am just to Mr. Sumner; I have known him long, and honor him. I know his genius—I honor his virtues; yet if, from his high place, he sends out counsels which I think dangerous to the cause, I am bound to raise my voice against them. I do my duty in a private communication to him first, then in public to his friends and mine. The friendship that will not bear this criticism is but the frost-work of a winter's morning, which the sun looks upon and it is gone. His friendship will survive all that I say of him, and mine will survive all that he shall say of me; and this is the only way in which the Anti-Slavery cause can be served. Truth, success, victory, triumph over the obstacles that beset us—this is all either of us wants. (Cheers.)

If all I have said to you is untrue, if I have exaggerated, explain to me this fact. In 1831, Mr. Garrison commenced a paper advocating the doctrine of immediate emancipation. He had against him the thirty thousand churches and all the clergy of the country—its wealth, its commerce, its press. In 1831, what was the state of things? There was the most entire ignorance and apathy on the slave question. If men

knew of the existence of slavery, it was only as a part of picturesque Virginia life. No one preached, no one talked, no one wrote about it. No whisper of it stirred the surface of the political sea. The Church heard of it occasionally, when some Colonization agent asked funds to send the blacks to Africa. Old school books tainted with some anti-slavery selections had passed out of use, and new ones were compiled to suit the times. Soon as any dissent from the prevailing faith appeared, every one set himself to crush it. The pulpits preached at it: the press denounced it: mobs tore down houses, threw presses into the fire and the stream, and shot the editors: religious conventions tried to smother it: parties arrayed themselves against it. Daniel Webster boasted in the Senate, that he had never introduced the subject of slavery to that body, and never would. Mr. Clay, in 1839, makes a speech for the Presidency, in which he says, that to discuss the subject of slavery is moral treason, and that no man has a right to introduce the subject into Congress. Mr. Benton, in 1844, laid down his platform, and he not only denies the right, but asserts that he never has and never will discuss the subject. Yet Mr. Clay, from 1839 down to his death, hardly made a remarkable speech of any kind, except on slavery. Mr. Webster, having indulged now and then in a little easy rhetoric, as at Niblo's and elsewhere, opens his mouth in 1840, generously contributing his aid to both sides, and stops talking about it only when death closes his lips. Mr. Benton's six or eight speeches in the United States Senate have all been on the subject of slavery in the southwestern section of the country, and form the basis of whatever claim he has to the character of a statesman, and he owes his seat in the next Congress somewhat, perhaps, to anti-slavery pretensions! The Whig and Democratic parties pledged themselves just as emphatically against the anti-slavery discussion—against agitation and free speech. These men said, "It shan't be talked about, it won't be talked about!" These are *your statesmen*!—men who understand the present, that is, and mould the future! The man who understands his own time, and whose genius moulds the future to his views, he is a statesman, is he not? These men devoted themselves to banks, to the tariff, to internal improvements, to constitutional

and financial questions. They said to Slavery — “Back ! no entrance here ! We pledge ourselves against you.” And then there came up a humble printer boy, who whipped them into the traces, and made them talk, like Hotspur’s starling, nothing BUT Slavery. He scattered all these gigantic shadows — tariff, bank, constitutional questions, financial questions — and Slavery, like the colossal head in Walpole’s romance, came up and filled the whole political horizon ! (Enthusiastic applause.) Yet you must remember he is not a statesman ; he is a “fanatic.” He has no discipline — Mr. “Ion” says so ; he does not understand the “discipline that is essential to victory” ! This man did not understand his own time — he did not know what the future was to be — he was not able to shape it — he had no “prudence” — he had no “foresight” ! Daniel Webster says, “I have never introduced this subject, and never will” — and died broken-hearted because he had not been able to talk enough about it. Benton says, “I will never speak of slavery” — and lives to break with his party on this issue ! Mr. Clay says it is “moral treason” to introduce the subject into Congress, and lives to see Congress turned into an Anti-Slavery Debating Society, to suit the purpose of one “too powerful individual” !

These were statesmen, mark you ! Two of them have gone to their graves covered with eulogy ; and our national stock of eloquence is all insufficient to describe how profound and far-reaching was the sagacity of Daniel Webster ! Remember who it was that said, in 1831, “I am in earnest — I will not equivocate — I will not excuse — I will not retreat a single inch — *and I will be heard !*” (Repeated cheers.) That speaker has lived twenty-two years, and the complaint of twenty-three millions of people is, “Shall we never hear of any thing but slavery ?” (Cheers.) I heard Dr. Kirk, of Boston, say in his own pulpit, when he returned from London — where he had been as a representative to the “Evangelical Alliance” — “I went up to London, and they asked me what I thought of the question of immediate emancipation ! They examined us all. Is an American never to travel any where in the world but men will throw this troublesome question in his face ?” Well, it is all HIS fault [pointing to Mr. Garrison.] (Enthusiastic cheers.)

Now, when we come to talk of statesmanship, of sagacity in choosing time and measures, of endeavor, by proper means, to right the public mind, of keen insight into the present and potent sway over the future, it seems to me that the Abolitionists, who have taken—whether for good or for ill, whether to their discredit or to their praise—this country by the four corners, and shaken it until you can hear nothing but slavery, whether you travel in railroad or steamboat, whether you enter the hall of legislation or read the columns of a newspaper—it seems to me that such men may point to the present aspect of the nation, to their originally avowed purpose, to the pledges and efforts of all your great men against them, and then let you determine to which side the credit of sagacity and statesmanship belongs. Napoleon busied himself, at St. Helena, in showing how Wellington ought not to have conquered at Waterloo. The world has never got time to listen to the explanation. Sufficient for it that the Allies entered Paris. In like manner, it seems hardly the province of a defeated Church and State to deny the skill of measures by which they have been conquered!

It may sound strange to some, this claim for Mr. Garrison of a profound statesmanship. Men have heard him styled a mere fanatic so long, that they are incompetent to judge him fairly. "The phrases men are accustomed," says Goethe, "to repeat incessantly, end by becoming convictions, and ossify the organs of intelligence." I cannot accept you, therefore, as my jury. I appeal from Festus to Cæsar; from the prejudice of our streets to the common sense of the world, and to your children.

Every thoughtful and unprejudiced mind must see that such an evil as slavery will yield only to the most radical treatment. If you consider the work we have to do, you will not think us needlessly aggressive, or that we dig down unnecessarily deep in laying the foundations of our enterprise. A money power of two thousand millions of dollars, as the prices of slaves now range, held by a small body of able and desperate men; that body raised into a political aristocracy by special constitutional provisions; cotton, the product of slave labor, forming the basis of our whole foreign commerce, and the commercial class thus subsidized; the press bought

up, the pulpit reduced to vassalage, the heart of the common people chilled by a bitter prejudice against the black race; our leading men bribed, by ambition, either to silence or open hostility — in such a land, on what shall an Abolitionist rely? On a few cold prayers, mere lip service, and never from the heart? On a Church Resolution, hidden often in its records, and meant only as a decent cover for servility in daily practice? On political parties, with their superficial influence at best, and seeking, ordinarily, only to use existing prejudices to the best advantage? Slavery has deeper root here than any aristocratic institution has in Europe; and Politics is but the common pulse beat of which Revolution is the fever spasm. Yet we have seen European aristocracy survive storms which seemed to reach down to the primal strata of European life. Shall we then trust to mere Politics, where even Revolution has failed? How shall the stream rise above its fountain? Where shall our church organizations or parties get strength to attack their great parent and moulder, the Slave Power? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus? The old jest of one who tried to lift himself in his own basket, is but a tame picture of the man who imagines that, by working solely through existing sects and parties, he can destroy slavery. Mechanics say nothing but an earthquake, strong enough to move all Egypt, can bring down the Pyramids.

Experience has confirmed these views. The Abolitionists who have acted on them have a "short method" with all unbelievers. They have but to point to their own success, in contrast with every other man's failure. To waken the nation to its real state, and chain it to the consideration of this one duty, is half the work. So much we have done. Slavery has been made the question of this generation. To startle the South to madness, so that every step she takes, in her blindness, is one step more toward ruin, is much. This we have done. Witness Texas and the Fugitive Slave Law. To have elaborated for the nation the only plan of redemption, pointed out the only Exodus from this "sea of troubles," is much. This we claim to have done in our motto of IMMEDIATE, UNCONDITIONAL EMANCIPATION ON THE SOIL. The closer any statesmanlike mind looks into the question, the

more favor our plan finds with it. The Christian asks fairly of the Infidel, "If this Religion be not from God, how do you explain its triumph, and the history of the first three centuries?" Our question is similar. If our agitation has not been wisely planned and conducted, explain for us the history of the last twenty years! Experience is a safe light to walk by, and he is not a rash man who expects success in future from the same means which have secured it in times past.

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